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THE EARLIEST FRENCH ITINERARIES

1552 AND 1591

CHARLES ESTIENNE AND THÉODORE DE MAYERNE-TURQUET¹

By SIR H. GEORGE FORDHAM

THE development of systematic travel in Central Europe in the sixteenth century was characterized, as was naturally the case, by the publication of a special literature, partly cartographic, but, in the main, in the form of Itineraries, and of lists of fairs and tables of moneys and of exchange and relative values.

The first examples known in France are *La Guide des Chemins de France* (Facs. I) and *Les Voyages de plusieurs endroits de France : et encores de la Terre Sainte, d'Espagne, d'Italie, et autres Pays*, together with *Les Fleuves du Royaume de France* (Facs. II), both volumes compiled and printed by Charles Estienne,² and published in Paris in 1552.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 November 1920.

² Charles Estienne was born in 1504, a member of the famous family of printers established in Paris. He was the third son of the first Henri Estienne and brother of Robert. Destined for the medical profession, he completed his studies and was admitted doctor in medicine. He was, however, drawn by circumstances into the printing business and was appointed printer to the King, and his work is well known. He died in prison, to which he was committed for debt, in 1564.

Ex libris H. G. Huetas Paris

La guide des che-
mins de France.

L. v. de la Haye



A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Im-
primeur du Roy.

MDCLXXII.

Avec priuilege dudit Seigneur.

C

I. First Edition. From the copy at the St^e-Geneviève Library, Paris.

Les Voyages

DE PLUSIEURS EN-
droits de France: & encores
de la terre Sainte, d'Espai-
gne, d'Italie, & autres pays.

40. *La lib. Ste Genevieve 1734*

Les Fleuves du

ROYAUME DE FRANCE.

J. B. de la Harpe

A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Im-
primeur du Roy.

M. D. LII.

Avec privilege dudit Seigneur.

II. First Edition. From the copy at the St^e-Geneviève Library, Paris.

At a somewhat long interval, there appeared, at Geneva, the *Sommaire Description de la France, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne, Avec la Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir par les provinces, et aux villes plus renommées de ces quatre regions. A quoy est adjousté un recueil des foires plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe. Et un traicté des monnoyes et leur valleur esdicts pays, provinces et villes*, the work of Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet¹ and printed by Jacob Stoer.

The *Guide* of Estienne was frequently reprinted by different publishers, and in various towns, during a period which extended to as late as the year 1623. The *Sommaire Description* of Mayerne-Turquet was reprinted at Geneva up to 1653, while a Rouen edition is known to have had a range in time from 1604 to 1642.

The following notes are intended to lay before the Society our present knowledge of these publications, established recently by the inquiries I have made in order to compile a catalogue of the French Road-Books and Itineraries which

¹ Louis Turquet de Mayerne (so styled in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, tome 34. Paris, 1861, 8vo) was a French historian, born about 1550 at Lyons. He died in Paris in March 1618. He is supposed to have been a member of a Piedmontese family bearing the name of Turquetti, and the name Mayerne is said to have been taken from a country house he possessed in the neighbourhood of Geneva.

His more distinguished son, Théodore, was born at Geneva in 1573 and died at Chelsea in 1655. He studied medicine, first at Heidelberg, and, later, at Montpellier, where, after a residence of five years, he received the degree of doctor in 1597. He then went to Paris, where he established a considerable reputation, obtaining the appointment of physician to the King, and, in 1600, he accompanied the Duke of Rohan to the Diet of Spire and afterwards to Italy. In 1611 he was invited to England by James I, and became first physician to that King, holding the same appointment under Charles I up to the time of his execution, when he retired to Chelsea.

Portraits of Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet exist in the National Portrait Gallery, at the College of Physicians, and at Geneva.

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has just appeared in Paris,¹ and which has been framed on the lines laid down in a similar list published by the Society as an Appendix to my paper, 'Road-Books and Itineraries Bibliographically considered',² read in November 1913.

The germ of the road-book of modern times may be found in the earliest printed accounts of the organized pilgrimages to the Holy Land dating from towards the end of the fifteenth century, in which the land journey from Paris, from London, and from other centres is recorded stage by stage to the port of embarkation for the voyage to Jaffa, and thence to Jerusalem and the holy places of Syria, which at this period was Venice. The particulars given in these narratives, with the numerous clauses of the formal contract between the pilgrim-travellers and the masters of ships, and the amounts of the inclusive payments for the whole journey to Jerusalem and back from Venice, which have been recorded in manuscript and in print, enable us to realize how completely the system then in existence resembled organized travel of our own day.³

There are other publications which deal with Roads and Travel antecedent to the appearance of Charles Estienne's *Guide*, and, amongst them, the road-map of Germany dated 1501, recently published in facsimile,⁴ and the little book compiled by Jacques Signot, and printed by Toussains Denis in Paris, with a map of Italy. This latter work appeared in

¹ *Catalogue des Guides-Routiers et des Itinéraires Français, 1552-1850.* (Bulletin de la Section de Géographie, tome XXXIV, année 1919. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1920, 8vo).

² *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. xiii. London, 1916, 4to, at p. 38 et seq.

³ See 'Roads and Travel before Railways in Hertfordshire and Elsewhere,' (*Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society*, Vol. XVI, Part I. Hertford, 1915, 8vo, at p. 1 et seq.).

⁴ W. Wolkenhauer, *Erhard Etzlaubs Reisekarte durch Deutschland aus dem Jahre 1501. Eine Karte der Frührenaissance. Mit einem Begleittext von Prof. Dr. W. Wolkenbauer.* Berlin, 1919, fol.

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1515.¹ It was published in connexion with the wars waged by the French kings Charles VIII and Francis I in Italy, as a description of the means of access into that country from France, and was subsequently several times reprinted. The map issued with Signot's work is missing in all the copies I have seen, but its existence was presumable from the mention of a map in the licence to publish accorded to Denis the printer. Some years back I was fortunate enough to discover a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale, which I have since had reproduced in facsimile. This is a good example of the early woodcut maps. The passes through the Alps are shown, but no attempt has been made to indicate the lines of roads.

Some other traces of efforts of an elementary character in the direction of giving information useful to travellers in book or map form may be found in Germany, and, possibly, in Italy,² but, however this may be, the credit for pioneer work in the matter must certainly remain with Estienne and with the Paris press.

What Estienne had in view is perhaps best explained by extracts from the text of the Addresses to the Reader prefixed to the first editions of the *Guide* and the *Voyages*, respectively, both dated in 1552 :

(i) 'L'Auteur de ce livret (Lecteur) en a faict par passe-temps, a la requeste de ses amis, ce qu'il a peu . . . luy suffisant d'avoir pour ceste fois entrepris chose, que tu puisse estimer proufitable, et qui paraventure donne occasion a un autre, en ensuivant ce premier traict, de mieulx faire, s'il luy est

¹ *La totale et vraie description de tous les paissaiges, lieux, et destroitcz : par lesquelz on peut passer et entrer des Gaules es ytalies.* Paris, 1515, sm. 4to.

² See *Poste per diverse parti del mondo e Il viaggio di S. Jacomo di Galitia. Con tutte le Fiere notabili, che si fanno per tutto il mondo.* Lyons, 1572, 16mo. And a book published at Venice in 1540: *Tariffa de I Pesi, e misure corrispondenti dal Levante al Ponente*, which is a copious set of tables of weights and measures and rates of exchange.

‘possible, attendu qu’il n’est riens plus aisé qu’adjouster aux choses inventees . . .

‘Escout encor ce mot, L’Auteur avoit deliberé te donner par mesme moyen, les pellerinages ou voyages des lieux saints, avec l’entiere description des fleuves de France, qu’il a tous prests : mais il s’est advisé d’attendre ton jugement et advis sur ceste premiere facon, pour avec quelque amendement, t’en rendre cy apres plus content.’

(ii) ‘Le contentement que l’Auteur de la Guide des chemins de France, a receu de toy (Lecteur) quand il t’a pleu (quelque imperfecte qu’elle fust) la prendre en bonne part : luy a donné de tant meilleur courage de fournir a la promesse qu’il t’avoit faicte, touchant les saints voyages, et fleuves de ce pays : et faict esperer, qu’en s’acquittant, tu l’excuseras de l’assurance qu’il ne te peult donner, sans meilleur advertissement, touchant les limites et noms des villes et endroits qui y sont contenuz. Au demeurant, il te veult advertir, que combien que sa premiere intention fust, de ne passer pour ceste fois les limites de France, qui sont les mers et montaignes, des quelles elle est bornee de toutes parts : toutesfois (comme les inventions croissent a mesure que lon poursuyt les choses entreprises) il ne s’est peu tenir de toucher les principaulx et plus frequentez voyages en Italie, Espagne et terre Sainte. Ce qu’il te supplie excuser, en attendant ce qu’il en pourra mieulx faire cy apres : si c’est a luy toutes fois, de tant oser entreprendre au faict des pays . . .’

In the second edition of the *Guide*, also of 1552, Estienne adds other information as to his difficulties, and (no doubt) replies to criticisms on the first issue of his work :

‘Pour le mescontentement qui pourroit survenir au moyen de la diversité d’opinions au nombre des lieues et journées de chascun chemin, il n’entend la mesure d’icelle en estre plus certaine, que la coustume des pays, qui change de jour

'a autre. Parquoy luy a semblé suffisant merquer les gistes
 'et repeues, que chascun pourra partir selon sa commodité,
 'estant asseuré, que s'il loge ailleurs (pourveu qu'il n'y ait
 'note de ville ou bourgade) il pourra bien tomber en danger
 'd'estre mal traicté. Et neantmoins te prie excuser l'ortho-
 'graphe des surnoms, attendu que de divers auteurs, comme
 'messagiers, marchans, et pellerins desquels luy a esté force
 's'aider, ne peult sortir que grand diversité, qui se pourra
 'corriger a mesure que les advertissemens en viendront.
 'Quant a l'incertitude de la division et estendue des pays,
 'tu scais combien elle est variable selon les appanages et
 'changemens des princes.'

The whole tone of these extracts justifies the conclusion that Estienne had compiled, in circumstances of difficulty of which he is fully conscious, a novel and original work, which he is anxious to improve and perfect, as time goes on and criticisms and corrections reach him. His attitude is characteristic, in this respect, of the editors of the best guides of modern times. It will be observed that Estienne does not rely upon any official sources of information, although it is very possible that, even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, some *ordonnances* existed in France setting out the main lines of route and the stages upon them, similar to the proclamation of 1 July 1535, which set out the eight main postal routes in England. However this may be, Estienne, in citing as sources of information *messagiers, marchans, et pellerins*, shows that the particulars he gives are largely, if not entirely, collected from original and personal information.

The single issue of the *Voyages* and three issues of the *Guide* appear to be all that Estienne himself published. These three issues are of 1552, 1552 (*veue, corrigée et augmentée pour la seconde fois*), and 1553 (*veue, corrigée et augmentée pour la troisieme fois*). The rivers of France, which appear in the *Voyages* of 1552, are incorporated in the third edition of the *Guide*,

1553. Only one copy of each of the first issues of the *Guide* and of the *Voyages* of 1552 is known to exist. They are both in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. Of the second edition of the *Guide* one copy also is known—that in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Of the third edition three copies remain in public libraries—in the Bibliothèque nationale, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library respectively (Facs. III).

Reproductions of the title-pages of all four of Estienne's Road-Books, as described above, will be found in a collection of plates I have published as a supplement of illustrations to be distributed with 150 author's reprints of my *Catalogue* already cited.¹

The work of Estienne, although protected by royal licence, was immediately seized upon and reprinted by a Rouen publisher, who issued in 1553 editions both of the *Guide* and the *Voyages* (Facs. IV and V). This piracy was committed by *Martin le mégissier Libraire, tenant son ouvroir au hault des degrez du Palais*.² He claims discreetly to print: *Avec privilege*. Copies of these two reprints are found in the Municipal Library of Rouen. I am not aware of the existence of any others.

According to Barbier³ the widow Regnault printed the *Guide* in Paris, in 1554, but I do not know of any copy. One of the following year is found in the Bodleian Library (probably a unique example of this issue) printed by the widow of Nicolas Buffet, the title now reading: *La Guide et vray enseignement des chemins du royaume de France, Reveue, corrigee, et reaugmentee outre les precedentes. Aussi, sont*

¹ *Catalogue des Guides-Routiers et des Itinéraires Français, 1552-1850.—Illustrations supplémentaires*, Cambridge, 1920, 8vo.

² The Mégissiers were printers in Rouen from 1548 to 1637. The first Martin of this family carried on business from 1548 to 1563.

³ *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, by Ant. Alex. Barbier (Paris, 3rd edition, 1872-8, 8vo), and *Supplément*, by Gustave Barbier (Paris, 1889, 8vo).

La guide des che-
mins de France, reueue & aug-
mentee pour la troisieme fois.

LES FLEVVES DV ROYAVME
de France, aussi augmentez.



A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Imprimeur du Roy.

M. D. LIII.

Auec priuilege dudit Seigneur.

III. Third Edition. From the copy at the Bodleian Library.





IV. First Rouen Edition. From the copy at the Rouen Municipal Library.

To face p. 202.]

Les Voyages

DE PLUSIEURS EN:
droits de France: & encores
de la terre Sainte, d'Es-
paigne, d'Italie & au-
tres pays.

*Les Fleuves du Royaume
de France.*

A ROUEN:

10 Chez Martin le mesgillier Libraire
tenant son ouuroier au hault des
degrez du Palais.

1553.

Auec priuilege.

V. First Rouen Edition. From the copy at the Rouen Municipal Library.

augmentez les Fleuves dudict Royaume de France. This is a very small volume, measuring only 111 mm. in height by 73 mm. in width.

Both Barbier and Brunet¹ cite an issue of the *Guide* (the third edition), printed in Paris in 1560 by Estienne Groulleau, or Grouleau,² but of this I have no direct knowledge.

At Lyons, in 1566, appeared another impression, from the press of Benoist Rigaud,³ of which the only specimen known to me is in the British Museum. The title now runs, *La Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir par tout le Royaume de France et autres païs circonvoisins. Revuë et corrigee outre les precedentes impressions* (Facs. VI). This was reprinted by Rigaud in 1580, and of the latter issue two copies are in existence—one in the British Museum and the other in the Baudrier Collection now in the Château de Terrebasse in the Department of the Isère in France. About the year 1570 Simon Calverin⁴ issued another reprint, from the sign of the *Rose blanche couronnée*, in the *rue St-Jacques* in Paris. Of this a unique copy is in the British Museum (Facs. VII). The

¹ *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur des Livres*, by Jacques-Charles Brunet (Paris, 1860-5, 8vo), and *Supplément*, by P. Deschamps and G. Brunet (Paris, 1878-80, 8vo).

² It is possible that there were two Estienne Groulleau (or Grouleau). The printer of 1560 was in business in 1543 and died before 30 March 1563, but books were published by a printer of the same name up to as late as 1566.

³ Benoist Rigaud, printer of Lyons, began business in 1555, for the first three years in partnership with his nephew, Jean Saugrain. Benoist died in 1597 and Pierre, the eldest of his children, took over the management of the undertaking. (See the *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les Imprimeurs . . . au XVI^e siècle*, by Henri-Louis Baudrier and Julien Baudrier. Lyons, 1895-1913, 8vo).

⁴ Simon Calvarin was in business several years earlier than 1553. He died on 19 January 1593. There is very little to go upon in regard to the probable date of his edition of the *Guide*. It is believed that he moved to the sign of the *Rose blanche couronnée* after the death of his brother-in-law, Guillaume Le Noir, of whose children he was guardian. Le Noir died before 1570. The younger Le Noir seems to have taken over the business in 1580.

LA
GVIDE DES

CHEMINS POVR AL-

ler & venir par tout le Roy-
aume de France & au-
tres païs circon-
uoisins.

*Reueuë & corrigee outre les prece-
dentes impressions.*



A LYON,
PAR BENOIST RIGAUD.

1566,

VI. From the copy at the British Museum.

next issue of the *Guide* in order of time is a reprint by Nicolas Bonfons,¹ who published from the sign of St. Nicolas in the *rue neuve Notre Dame*, in Paris, in 1583, the *Nouvelle Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir partous les pays et contrees, du Royaume de France. Plus. Le chemin de Ierusalem, Romme, et autres lieux de la terre Saincte*. A copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale. This is one of the very small editions, measuring only 112 mm. in height by 75 mm. in width (Facs. VIII).

Lelong² cites an issue with, apparently, the same title, and, no doubt, a reprint by Bonfons, with the place and date, Paris, 1588. I have never seen a copy, however.

Brunet, in his turn, refers to an edition published by Nicolas Bonfons in 1599, in the title of which he adds: *Lorraine, parties d'Allemagne, Savoye et Italie*, but of this again no copy is known to exist.

To Rouen we now again return, to find that in 1600 *Thomas D'Aré, Libraire demeurant à la rue des Juifs, pres la porte du Palais*,³ was issuing a further reprint, with the title *La Grand Guide*. A copy of this edition—the only one—is found in the Bibliothèque nationale. In spite of its title it is extremely small, almost minute, measuring about 100 mm. in height by 65 mm. in width.

The remaining re-issues of Estienne's *Guide* come to us from Troyes, from the press of Nicolas Oudot.⁴ Brunet notes

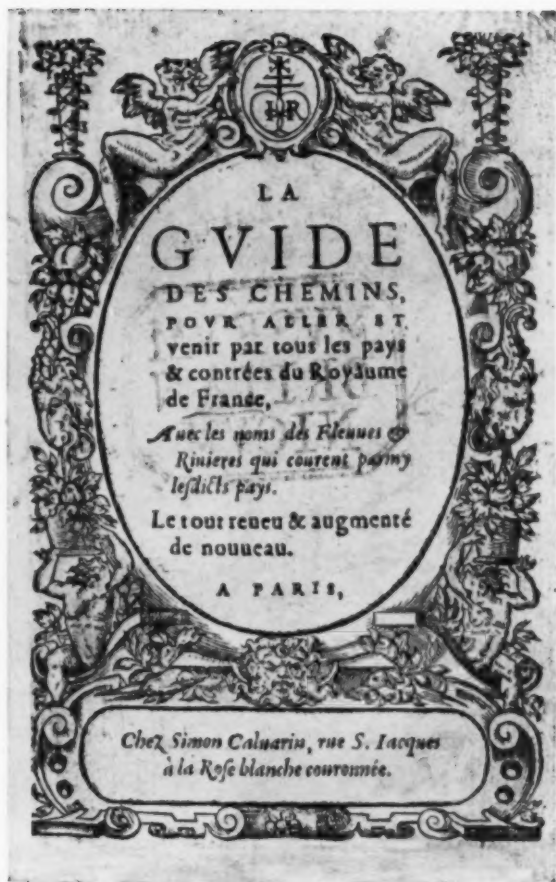
¹ Nicolas Bonfons was printing as early as 1572. He died between the years 1626 and 1629. He had succeeded to the business of his father Jean.

² *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, new edition, by Jacques Lelong and Fevret de Fontette (Paris, 1768–78, fol.).

³ The Darés were a family of printers in Rouen, carrying on business from 1597 till 1679. The first Thomas Daré flourished from 1597 to 1618, and was thus the printer of the *Guide* of 1600.

⁴ The Oudots were printers at Troyes from 1593 to 1768. It was the first Nicolas of this family (1606–34) who published the *Grande Guide* of 1612 and 1623. See *Recherches sur l'Imprimerie à Troyes*, by Cottard de Breban (third edition, Paris, 1873, 8vo).





VII. From the copy at the British Museum.

To face p. 206.]

NOUVELLE
GUIDE DES
CHEMINS POVR ALLER
& venir partout les pays & contrées, du
Royaume de France.

PLVS.

*Le chemin de Ierusalem, Romme, & autres
lieux de la terre Sainte.
Et le plus subtil surffinement*



A PARIS,
Par Nicolas Bonfons, rue neuue nostre
Dame, a l'enseigne S. Nicolas.
1583.

VIII. From the copy at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

an edition of Troyes dated 1612, of which I have never discovered an example; but in the Bodleian Library is one of 1623. It has the title, *Grande Guide*, with rather full particulars following. This is the smallest issue—a waistcoat-pocket edition—105 mm. high and only 50 mm. wide.

In examining, in the University Library at Cambridge, a copy of the *Sommaire Description* of Mayerne-Turquet, edition of 1618, I was fortunate enough to discover, bound in at the end, a work entitled: *La Suite de la Guide des Chemins tant de France, d'Espagne, Italie, et autres pays: y contenant le voyage de Rome, de nostre Dame de Lorette, de S. Iaques, de nostre Dame de Mont-serra, et de la sainte cité de Ierusalem, contenus en la table. Avec les Fleuves et Rivières du Royaume de France* (Facs. IX). This supplement to Estienne's *Guide* was printed at Lyons, it seems, by Benoist Rigaud, in 1583. Of the earlier issue a copy, probably unique, is found in the Baudrier Library already referred to. The Cambridge copy is from the press of Pierre Rigaud, *ruë Merciere, au coing de ruë Ferrandiere*, and is dated 1610. It seems to be the only one of this issue existing. The two now noticed (1583 and 1610) represent all that is known of the supplement to Estienne's *Guide*. This little book has 124 pages only.

From this enumeration of the impressions of, or founded on, the *Guide* of 1552, it will be gathered that long and meticulous research has been necessary to establish the, no doubt, very incomplete, but, in any case, fairly representative and characteristic series of the Itineraries to be classed under the name of Charles Estienne, and covering a period of seventy-one years (1552-1623).

It will be found that, in all, twenty-one distinct issues have been either actually identified, as existing to-day in public and private collections, or, as having been noted in well-known catalogues, including the two editions of the *Suite*, or

LA
SVITE DE LA

GVIDE DES CHEMINS
tant de France, d'Espagne, Italie,
& autres pays: y contenant le voya-
ge de Rome, de nostre Dame de
Lorette, de S. Iaques, de nostre Da-
me de Mont-ferra, & de la sainte
cité de Ierusalem, contenus en la
table.

AVEC LES FLEPPES ET
Risieres du Royaume de France.



UNIV.
LIB.
CAMB.

A LYON.

Chez **PIERRE RICARD**, rue Merciere,
au coin de rue Ferrandier,

1610.

IX. From the copy at the University Library, Cambridge.

supplement. The copies still existing make up a total of eighteen only, of which the British Museum possesses four, the Bodleian three, the Cambridge University Library one, and the Paris libraries six, and the rest are in the Municipal Library of Rouen (two) and the Library of the Château de Terrebasse (two). Of these several are duplicates, thus reducing the number of editions of which copies are at our disposal to no more than fifteen.

It seems improbable that many more specimens have survived. An inquiry addressed to all the provincial libraries in France has yielded no results. There remains the possibility that additional examples exist in Germany, or in Italy, but it is obvious that the casual destruction of Itineraries and Guides and other works of daily use subject to supersession by fresh issues and enlarged and corrected reprints, has at all times been very complete, and that survivals are purely accidental. I am satisfied that the list I have now established of the Guides enumerated above and more systematically treated in the *Catalogue* already cited, is practically all that bibliographers can hope for in this little corner of research. It does, in fact, as will be admitted I think, fairly illustrate the range in time and places and dates of impression of these publications.

I now pass on to review, in a similar manner, the work of Mayerne-Turquet, later in time and more ambitious in the material incorporated, but substantially a continuance (where it is not, as in the later reprints of the *Guide*, a rival) of the work of Estienne.

Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet, born in 1573,¹ was thus only about eighteen years of age when he signed, 12 June 1591, the Dedication of the first edition of the *Sommaire Description* addressed *Au Seigneur Jean Pournas Seigneur de la Piementie mon cousin*. In this Guide about a hundred pages

¹ See note on the Turquets at p. 196 *ante*.

of descriptive text precede the Itinerary, properly so called, which is followed (with a separate title) by particulars of the fairs of Central Europe (Facs. X) and these again by a *Petit Traité des Metaux et Monnoyes fort utile pour le Voyager*, the pagination of the whole being continuous throughout.

As in the case of Estienne, the ideas with which Mayerne-Turquet embarked upon his work and its publication are best set out by a transcript from his own introduction, as embodied in the Dedication already referred to, and I offer no apology for its inclusion here in full:

‘C’est une des incommoditez de ceste vie que de voyager
‘par le monde, laquelle toutesfois est supportée legerement
‘par les curieux, et quant à ceux qui courent les pays meus
‘d’un desir de gaigner, ils ne la sentent comme point. Mais
‘elle est dure à ceux là seuls qui voyagent par necessité,
‘comme ont fait plusieurs gens de bien ces années passées,
‘contraints par la fureur des guerres civiles de laisser leurs
‘naturelles habitations et visiter les nations estrangeres. Or
‘quelle qu’en soit la cause tous ceux qui se trouvent en
‘voyage ont un grand soulagement quand ils rencontrent
‘quelque bonne guide, et leur semble veoir un ange du ciel,
‘lors qu’il se presente homme qui leur peut donner seure
‘adresse de parvenir au lieu où ils pretendent. Ce qui est
‘mis par toutes nations pour un general devoir de l’homme
‘raisonnable envers son prochain, pour lequel le Chrestien
‘doit estimer estre nay autant que pour soy mesme. Ceste
‘consideration sollicitée par mon inclination propre (car je
‘ne suis pas exempt de ce desir de veoir diverses contrées)
‘joinctes aux occasions que le temps où nous vivons produit
‘(lesquelles m’ont contraint desja de voyager, voire avant
‘que d’estre nay) a fait que je me suis mis à dresser une
‘briefve description de l’assiete des quatres principales regions
‘de l’Europe, assavoir de la France, l’Allemagne, l’Italie et
‘de l’Espagne, et à faire une particuliere recherche de leurs

‘provinces, et des chemins qui conduisent aux lieux plus
 ‘frequentez et villes plus renommées d’icelles, et des foires
 ‘celebres entre ces nations, à quoy j’ay aussi adjousté un
 ‘petit traicté des monnoyes. Ce qu’ayant accompli du
 ‘mieux que j’ay peu, avec l’aide d’aucuns autheurs imprimés,
 ‘et encor plus par la commodité que j’ay eue de conférer
 ‘avec mon pere : je le dedie par son advis au public, à la
 ‘charge que ceux qui s’en voudront servir le recevront de
 ‘vostre main et vous en sçauront gré. Car sçachant combien
 ‘vous vous delectez de toutes choses honnestes, qui sont
 ‘bien entreprises et poursuivies à bonne fin, j’ay voulu que
 ‘le fruit de ce mien tel quel labeur, fust recogneu de vous :
 ‘auquel je l’adresse et donne de bon cœur pour tesmoignage
 ‘de l’affection que j’ay de vous servir en plus grandes choses
 ‘à l’advenir. Ainsi plaise à Dieu m’en donner les moyens
 ‘avançant mes études, et vous conservant à vostre famille
 ‘et à vos amis. Ce 12. de Juin 1591.’

Mayerne-Turquet had a variety of materials to his hand for the compilation of his book. In addition to the *Guide*, there had appeared prior to 1591 the *Poste per diverse parti del mondo*, by Cherubin de Stella (Lyons, 1572), already referred to, *The Post of the World*, by Richard Rowlands (London, 1576), itself a translation from a German source which I have never been able to discover, and also partly founded, probably, on Stella’s Road-Book,¹ and including lists both of the Fairs

¹ Some light is thrown on the sources of information of which Rowlands made use by the explanation he gives in the dedication of his book to Sir Thomas Gresham, from which the following is an extract : ‘After that I had perused
 ‘thys small Pamflet, conteyninge a briefe collection of the most useal & accus-
 ‘tomable wayes, leadinge from the one notable Citie in Europe, to an other :
 ‘being written with no smal labour & industry, & not without great cause
 ‘very necessarily published in the high Almaine tongue, & the like also to
 ‘be seene in the French, & Italian. I thought it a thing very uncurteous,
 ‘& worthy of reproofe, to withhold so needefull a commoditie any longer
 ‘from our vougare spech, whereby I was the more imboldened to the finishing

and of the current coins of the various countries of Europe, and the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, or *Guide des chemins de tous les Pais de la Chrestienté* (1579), an atlas of 37 maps. There must have been other sources of information in Germany, mainly descriptive, but I have never found time and opportunity for an effective search for these materials, to which the German catalogues and topographical works do not appear to afford any very satisfactory clue.

There is one important German and Central European Road-Book, however, which falls just within the sixteenth century, namely, the *Kronn und Auszbundt aller Wegweiser*, published at Cologne in 1597. An earlier edition of this work may, of course, have furnished materials both to Rowlands and Mayerne-Turquet, but I have not found any trace of one up to the present. In the *Bibliotheca Geographica Germanica* of Paul Emil Richter, Leipzig, 1896, nothing in the nature of a road-book anterior to 1577 is recorded, except, possibly, one or two of doubtful date. The times have not been propitious of late years for the necessary researches in the libraries in Germany, and this must be my apology for not being at present able to carry the matter farther. It invites investigation.

The early part of the seventeenth century, it may be noted, was rather prolific in *Itineraria* by German publishers, which were in the main descriptive, though tables of roads are sometimes introduced. At all events the younger Mayerne-Turquet found adequate materials for his compilation.

The title of this work runs as follows : *Sommaire Description de la France, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne, avec la guide des chemins pour aller et venir par les provinces, et aux villes plus*

⁴ thereof, at such times as I might best attend upon the same. I have moreover, set downe the antiquitie of many cities worthy of memory, & the foundera of their auncient monuments, the which I have diligently collected out of sundry approved aucthors. . . .

renommées de ces quatre regions. A quoy est adjousté un recueil des foires plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe. Et un traicté des monnoyes et leur valleur esdicts pays, provinces et villes. Plus trois tables tres-amplés: Le tout recueilli pour la commodité des voyageurs.

The first edition, that of the year of the dedication, is noted by Brunet as being of Geneva, but of this no copy has been found. However, as the second part of the volume of 1592 in the library at Strasburg, which has a separate title, is dated 1591, there can be no doubt that the whole of the original issue was of that year.

The Geneva reprint of 1592 is the second edition, and of this examples exist in the University Library of Strasburg and at Dresden.

The next impression known is that of Rouen, a textual reprint of the original from the press of Claude le Villain,¹ *Libraire et Relieur du Roy, tenant sa boutique dans la rue du Bec, à la bonne Renommée*. This is dated 1604, with the dedication re-dated in the previous year. Two copies of this issue are known to exist—one in the University Library at Lausanne and the other at Dresden. In the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. Secousse*, published upon the occasion of the sale of the library of this collector (Paris, 1755), a copy of the *Sommaire Description* dated 1606 is recorded, and this may probably be a Rouen reprint. Another (in this case stated to be of Rouen and from the press of Claude le Villain) is noted in a cutting from a sale catalogue in the Rouen library, and also in the *Bibliothèque universelle des Voyages*, by Boucher de la Richarderie, Paris, 1808. This is dated 1615. Other impressions of the Rouen edition are of 1629 (two copies known, at Dresden and in the library of the author respectively) (Facs. XI) and of 1640 (a copy in the British Museum), and, finally, an edition of

¹ Claude le Villain was a Rouen printer from 1601 to 1643.

1642, attributed to the Rouen printer Clément Malassis,¹ is noted by Barbier.

No issues of the original Geneva edition between 1592 and 1618 are known. Four copies of the *Sommaire Description* of the latter date are in various collections. They are all printed by Stoer at Geneva, but in three cases no place of impression is given, the sale of books originating in the heretic city being seriously prejudiced in Catholic countries at that period. These copies are in the Library at Lyons, in the University Library, Cambridge, and in the library of the author, respectively. A fourth copy is in the British Museum, with *A Cologne* (*Colonia Allobrogum*) added in the imprint, in lieu of *Genève*, such designation of locality having been granted to the Geneva printers by Henry IV of France.²

No further copies of the *Sommaire Description* from the Geneva press are known except one of as late as 1653, preserved at Dresden.

It will be seen that the number of copies known, or noted,

¹ Clément Malassis was one of a family of publishers established in Rouen in the period 1602-82, who are said not themselves to have been actually printers. He carried on business from 1635 to 1682.

² In 1625 a dispute arose over the arrest in Lyons of an agent of the Geneva printers, and the following extract from the *Requête, mémoires et lettres à des députés envoyés de Genève pour faire maintenir la permission donnée par Henri IV de mettre sur les livres imprimés à Genève Coloniae Allobrogum ou Cologne* shows what was the issue debated between the printers and booksellers of the two cities: 'Les marchands libraires de Genève exposent que le roi Henri IV leur 'avait permis de mettre sur les livres qui s'impriment en notre cité le mot latin 'de Coloniae Allobrogum et de Cogni, pour, par ce moyen, éviter les 'scrupules et difficultés que faisaient des personnes d'acheter des dits livres 'sous le nom de Genève qui leur est odieux à cause de la religion. Mais les 'libraires de Lyon, pour abattre le peu de négoce de livres qui reste encore 'à Genève, ont obtenu depuis peu de temps qu'il n'entrerait aucun livre à 'Lyon, imprimé à Genève, sans le nom exprès de cette ville, sous peine de 'confiscation . . .'

This document is signed (amongst others) by Stoer. See *Études sur la Typographie genevoise du XVI^e au XIX^e siècles*. Gaullieur, Genève, 1855, 8vo.

RECVEIL
DES PRINCIPALES
ET FRANCHES FOIRES
QUI SE TIENNENT TANT
au Royaume de France, Alle-
magne, Italie, qu'Es-
pagne.

*Sur quatre principales foires du pays de Turquie,
et les foires depuis Lyon à Paris.*

Item vne table de la Feste de pasque, nombre
d'or, & lettre dominicale, iusques à l'an 1600, ,



IMPRIME L'AN
M. D. XCL.

X. From the copy at the University Library, Strasburg.

SOMMAIRE DESCRIPTION DE LA FRANCE, ALLEMAGNE ITALIE, ET ESPAGNE.


*Avec la Guide des Chemins & Postes, pour aller
& venir par les Provinces & aux villes plus
renommées de ces quatre regions.*

*A quoy est adionsté vn Recueil des Foires
plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe.*

*Et vn traité des Monnoyes, & leur valeur,
Esdicts, Pays, Provinces, & Villes.*



A ROVEN,

Chez CLAYDE LE VILLAIN, Libraire
& Relieur du Roy, rue du Bec, à
la bonne Renommée. 

M. D. C. X X I X.

XI. From the copy at Odsey.

of the two issues of Geneva and Rouen of the *Sommaire Description* is only thirteen, and that but twelve copies actually exist, of which five are in England (two in the British Museum, two in the author's collection, and one in the Cambridge University Library). Of the remaining seven, four are at Dresden and one each at Strasburg, Lyons, and Lausanne. The rarity of examples of this work of Mayerne-Turquet is comparable to that of the *Guide* of Estienne, and arises from the same general causes. Eliminating duplicates, copies of only seven editions of the *Sommaire Description* are known to exist.

One other French road-book of the sixteenth century, to which I have already directed attention,¹ was published in two editions (1579 and 1587) in Paris, at the press of Gervais Mallot, with the title, *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre, fort necessaire à ceux qui y voyagent, ou qui passent de France par Angleterre en Escosse* (Facs. XII).

It is curious as being the only guide to the roads of England published in that century, although the principal highways are found set out in 'A litle treatise' and 'A brief treatise', published by Richard Grafton from 1571 onwards, and in the *Writing Tables* of Frank Adams of 1581 and subsequent editions,² and appear in more detail in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, in 1577 and 1587, and in the *Particular Description of England*, 1588, of William Smith.

A list of the fairs was published in England as early as 1556, in Leonard Digges's *Prognostication Everlasting*, which is thought to be the first appearance in print, in this country, of such lists.

¹ See *Studies in Carto-Bibliography*. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1914, 8vo, at p. 120—'An Itinerary of the Sixteenth Century. *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*. Jean Bernard, Paris, 1579.

² See *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications. A Bibliographical History to the year 1600*, by Eustace F. Bosanquet, London, 1917, 4to.

LA GVIDE
DES CHEMINS D'AN-
GLETERRE, FORT NECES-

faire à ceux qui y voyagent, ou qui
passent de France par Angleterre en
Escosse: ayant ordonné le chemin par
les mile, à la mode du pays, faisant
deux mile vne lieuë Françoisse.

*J'ay aussi rapporté certaines particularitez dignes
d'estre cogneues à ceux qui passeront de ville en ville:
Avec le long & le large compas d'Angleterre, le nom-
bre des parroisses, Eglises, villes & Eueschez.*



A PARIS,
Chez Geruais Mallot, à l'aigle d'or,
ruë Saint Iacques.

1579.
Avec Privilege du Roy.

XII. From a copy at Odsey.

I have not, in this communication, added an exact bibliographical description of these early Itineraries. They are all very small and vary much in shape. Such details can easily be supplied, but they would add to the length of my paper which does not seem to be desirable. What I have aimed at, as will be noticed, is rather an historical and literary description than a purely bibliographical study.

On pages 222, 223, and 224 will be found facsimile impressions of the text of Estienne (*Guide*, 1553) and of Mayerne-Turquet (*Sommaire Description*, 1618) to show the method adopted in the presentation of the details of routes and of the descriptive matter generally (Facs. XIII, XIV and XV).

I present to the student, in this way, a sufficiently exhaustive illustration of this bibliographical subject, which will, I hope, establish, once and for all, its character and such importance as it may fairly claim to possess.

I am indebted to the conservators and directors of the principal libraries at home and abroad for their assistance in my researches, and for the facilities which have been accorded me for the taking of the photographs necessary for the preparation of my plates. Those selected for publication here represent a choice out of the twenty-one plates of the full series already referred to, to which latter, as well as to the *Catalogue* itself, reference may be made.

DISCUSSION

In the course of the discussion on Sir George Fordham's paper Mr. Steele said that he was one of the few persons who had actually used one of these road-books and proved its value. Many years ago he had caused to be photographed the route-map of Matthew Paris (Nero, D. 1) and the pages of Estienne's *Guide des Chemins* which covered the route,

and, relying on the traditional character of Englishmen in France, had used and exhibited them as his guides. The distances were fairly accurate, much more so than the information he received from passers-by, and he was directed by Estienne to features that the modern guide-books entirely overlooked. For instance, on the road from Troyes, p. 81 (which Matthew Paris says is in Burgundy, though it was the capital of Champagne), Estienne notes at Fouchères 'Depart de Champagne Bourgogne et Langres, par un petit ruisseau à main dextre, cheant en Seine'. At Villeneuve (past Bar) 'Bonne papeterie', at Neufville 'commencent les maisons estre couvertes de pierre dure et tenue'. At Gourteron 'Le goulet d'Augustine, lieu jadis dangereux de Brigands'. At Baigneux les Juifs: 'On n'y passe pas volontiers, qui n'y veut repaistre'—a saying I found still true. On the hills above Dijon, near Talant: 'Le chesne rond (dit Hault cerne) 'ou lon fait les justices, et de là void on en temps serain le 'mont Bernard et les montagnes d'Allemaigne', which I also had the good luck to verify. Between Châlons and Tournus there is Severe 'ou lon fait les tuppins noir'. I didn't know what they were, and no one in the place could tell me. All this information is cut out of Mayerne-Turquet's book, which is for those parts I have consulted taken directly from Estienne with omissions.

Le long boyau , plaine fertile, comme
petite beausse.

Iustitii, Ius viri, ou Giuisi b. iiij l.

Passé la petite riuere d'Orge.

La borde le long de l'eau d. l.

La briqueterie. d. l.

Corbueil v. ch. (Anciennement dite

Corbolium. j l. R.

Ancienne ville, ioingnât laquelle passent
les riuieres de Seine & d'Estampes.

A Corbueil par eau.

Le pont charenton b. ij l.

Cloisy, (bac pour les corbuillars ij l.

Villeneuve S. George b. j l.

Abblon, (sur Seine j l.

Chastillon, (sur Seine d. l.

Corbueil v. ch. ij l.

A Montlehery.

La banlieue j l.

Le Bourg la Royné b. j l.

Le pont Antony j l.

Longjumeau b. p. ij l.

Linas b, (ou lon loge ordinairement. R.

Montlehery v. ch. ij l.

Laisse le à costé gauche, & voy l'ancien
chasteau du temps de Gânes, assis sus mon-
tagne apparente, memorable de la iour-
née contre les Bourguignons : s'appelloit
premi

premierement Montlehery.

A Dammartin en Goelle.

La Villette, S. Ladre d. l.

Le Bourget j. l. d.

Le pont Yblon d. l.

Pren main droite pour le plus court.

Le Mesnil ma dame Rance. b iij l. d.

Ville neufue sous Dammartin j l.

Dammartin b. ch. d. l. R.

Anciennement ville assise en croupe de petite montaigne, à l'opposite de Montlehery est maintenant comté.

A cheureuse.

Chastillon (ou Pensot f. j l.

Tillacoublay f. ij l.

Vault boyan d. l.

Monte la montaigne.

Saint Aulbin d. l. Sacré d. l.

La belle image m. q. l.

Saint Remy j l.

Cheureuse v. ch. j l. R.

Fut ainsi dite, pour l'abondance des cheures qui estoient en ce pays ou baronnie, pres laquelle y auoit vn chastel sur vn heurt appelé Hautefeuille, qui fut basti par Griffon, dit de Hautefeuille, predecesseur de Gannes; & s'y trouuent vestiges des armoiries de Gannes, & bastiment d'iceluy.

B s



LES CHEMINS PLUS FRE-
 quentez par le Royaume de France,
 commençans par la ville de Paris, &
 tendans au Duché de Bretagne.

Pour aller de Paris en Bretagne nous
 tiendrons le chemin de Vitray
 par Alençon.

De Paris à Alençon;

Nostre dame de Bouloigne lieux. d.
 Le pont saint Cloud b. l. d.
 Vaucresson l. l.

Val de Galie

Villepreux † l. l.
 Neauville le Chastel b. l. l.
 Saint Aubin l. l. d.
 La Queue l. l. d.
 Houdan V. ch. † l. l.
 Goussainville l. l. d.
 Marolles l. l. d.
 La Meslangere l. l. d.
 Cerisy l. l. d.

Riviere d'Eure
 Dreux V. ch. † l. l.
 Loings l. l.
 Bretoles † l. l.

La

DE FRANCE.

La ferte au Vidame l. l.
 S. Mauris l. l. d.
 Forges à ter l. l.
 Les cheminees l. l.
 Touroude l. l.
 La Tarme montaigne l. l.
 Mortaigne sur montaigne l. l.
 S. Aubin. l. l.
 Pont Montisambert l. l.
 Le Mele sur Sartre l. l.
 Pont Fromont l. l.
 Le Mesnilberoult l. l.
 Passe vn pont l. l.
 Le lieu de paume. l. l.
 Alençon V. ch. † l. l.

lieux 40.

*D'Alençon à Vitray, premiere Ville de
 Bretagne où elle ioint au pays du Maine.*

Pont S. Denys l. l.
 La lasselle l. l.
 Prez l. l.
 S. Cir l. l.
 Isaron † l. l.
 Le Ribray l. l.
 Mayenne la lusest l. l.
 S. George l. l.
 Vauroria l. l.
 Heuec l. l.

¶

ANTHONY MUNDAY AND HIS BOOKS

By M. ST. CLARE BYRNE,¹

ANTHONY MUNDAY has sometimes been under-rated, but I have no wish to put in a claim for him as a long-neglected genius. If justification for this paper is needed I would rather base it on his inconvenient Jack-in-the-box habit of appearing suddenly in the midst of some respectable academic controversy, as if maliciously determined to introduce as many complications and uncertainties as possible. He has thus succeeded in compelling every now and again the more or less grudging consideration of the scholar, so that the results of an independent study of his career may have some interest. He was associated at one time or another with many of the finest dramatists of the age, he worked in collaboration with Dekker, Webster, and Middleton, and he seems to have been the chief writer of a play to which Shakespeare himself may have contributed. Independently, too, he has this claim to urge—that he was an Elizabethan of remarkable longevity—being eighty when he died—and that he moved all his life, as one might say, in the best circles—best, that is, in so far as the production of literature was concerned. He comes before us as an actor, prentice, poet, spy, journalist, recusant-hunter, pamphleteer, playwright, pageant-poet, antiquary, translator, citizen, and draper. The bare facts of his life provide us with an 'Elizabethan document' which more than repays study, and there is, finally, as I hope to show, intrinsic literary merit in some of his work.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 20 December 1920.

In Munday's case there are no materials for a genealogical preamble. Like Joseph Andrews 'it is sufficiently certain that he had as many ancestors as the best man living', and with that we can be well content, knowing only of his father that he was named Christopher, that he was a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and that he died before 1576. Although Munday is a common name in the London parish registers of that time, no record of Christopher's marriage has yet been discovered, so that his wife's name is unknown, and the only information we have about her is that she survived her husband and was still living in 1581. No record of Anthony's birth has yet been traced, but he speaks of himself as 'a City child', and couples himself with his friend, the antiquary Stow, when speaking of 'this Royal City . . . birthplace and breeder to us both'. The year of his birth is known because, although his monument in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, was burnt in the Great Fire, his epitaph is recorded in the 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, and states that he died on 10 August 1633, at the age of eighty. There appears, therefore, no reason to doubt that he was born in 1553.

As far as facts are concerned the first twenty years of his life are a blank. It is legitimate, however, in view of his tolerable facility as a translator, and his delight in the conventional Elizabethan habit of quotation from and reference to, the classics, to postulate for him some schooling, apparently good. Three of his manuscripts survive, and it is noticeable that he writes a good easy flowing hand. At some time or another—though almost certainly not during his boyhood—he was a pupil of one 'Claudius Hollyband, Scholemaister, 'teaching in Paules Churchyard by the signe of the 'Lucrece'. Hollyband was a teacher of French and Italian. He dates his *French Scholemaister* from 'Lewisham October 7th 1573', and speaks of his school. In his *French Littelton*,

1566 (1576) and 1578 he writes from his school in 'Paules Churcheyarde', and it is here, presumably that some time between 1576 and 1578 (i.e. most probably before Munday's journey to Rome in 1578) he was Munday's instructor in one or both of these languages. He speaks of him, at all events, as his 'scholler' in a piece of commendatory verse in French, prefixed to Munday's *Mirror of Mutability* in 1579.

There is only slightly more basis to build upon in dealing with those years of his youth immediately preceding his apprenticeship in 1576. It seems that at some time prior to this date he was an actor, but there is no unimpeachable or definite detail regarding his career as such. In 1576, however, there is the following entry in the Stationers' Register, under the Inrollments of Apprentices :

primo die Octobris 1576

John Aldee/Anthonie Mondaie sonne of Christofer Mondaye late of London Draper Deceased hath put himself app[re]ntice to John Aldee stationer for Eighte yeres begynnynge at Bartholomewtyde laste paste.

(Arber, *S.R.* ii. 69.)

Munday must have been a somewhat elderly apprentice, as in the ordinary course of events a boy would have been finishing his term of service at twenty-three, the age at which he bound himself to Alde, the owner of the famous 'Longe Shoppe in the Pultry'. Possibly drapery had been previously tried, under pressure from Christopher Munday, to be forsaken with alacrity once the youth was free to follow his own bent ; or possibly when parental subsidies were at an end the precarious existence of an actor had to be exchanged for the comparative security of a business.

Fifteen months later he is again mentioned in the Register, when on 18 November 1577, there is entered to John Charlwood *The Defence of Pouertie againste the Desire of worldlie riches Dialogue wise collected by Anthonie Mundaye.*

(Arber, *S.R.* ii. 320.) With this pamphlet, of which no copy is known, he makes his literary début. It is amusing to note his use of the word 'collected': capable of original work, he seems to have had an almost mediaeval preference for plagiarism, and it is typical of his whole career that this firstling of his imagination should probably have been a mere collection of sententious apothegms culled from various writers.

It is at this point that his life begins to be interesting. Towards the end of 1578 he cancelled his indentures with Allde, and set out on his travels. Whether he went to Europe in search of a fortune or from some more definite motive, certain it is that his fortune found him; so that by what was apparently nothing but a stroke of luck, turned to the best advantage with journalistic promptitude, he managed to get an entry into the English Roman Catholic seminary at Rome, nominally as a likely convert, but actually as a spy to gather information that might be disposed of to the Government at home. It is only possible in this paper to give the briefest outline of his career, but there is so much amusement to be extracted from his *English-Romayne Lyfe*, which gives his own account of his adventures, that one cannot pass straight on. He has no qualms about exposing his own character, and evinces a naïve appreciation of his own duplicity. He has the most delightful journalistic euphemisms for a tip: the English ambassador at Paris, he says, 'bestowed his honourable lyberalitie vppon vs,' and three Englishmen whom they met at Milan 'both in cost and courtesie behaued themselves like Gentlemen vnto vs'. We get glimpses, too, of a not unattractive rascal. In his third chapter he gives an interesting account of the daily life of the students in the seminary, and describes the penances inflicted on the erring scholars who forgot to make their beds 'hansomlie' in the morning, or who otherwise neglected their manifold

duties. Perhaps the most ingenious of these torments was 'to stand vpright and haue a dish of potage before him on 'the ground, and so to bring vp euerie spoonful to his mouth'. At the end of the list he adds suggestively 'All these penances 'I haue been forced to do, for that I was always apt to breake 'one order or other'. Chapter six is also extremely entertaining. Munday seems to have managed to arouse the enmity of the Welsh head of the seminary, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, so that, as he admits himself, 'He could not abide me in any case.' Clenocke tried to get rid of him, but the English students took his part and Munday stayed on, until finally Clenocke complained to Cardinal Morone his patron. Munday would then have been turned out, had not the Jesuits obtained leave for him 'to lye in a very sweete Chamber, filled with old rusty Iron and all the trash of the house' for a fortnight. This chamber, Munday says, was haunted by a devil, and Clenocke evidently put him there in revenge, with the result that, as he writes:

'Euery night there was such a coyle among the old Iron, 'such ratling and throwing down the Boordes . . . [that] . . . 'I lay almost feared out of my wits, so that when I was layd 'in Bed I durst not stirre till it was fayre broad day, that 'I might perceiue euerye corner of my Chamber, whether 'the Deuill were there or no.'

Eventually, however, the devil was exorcised by the aid of holy water, and Munday relates that when he flung the water in the direction of the noise he also flung the stoup after it, and thereafter the devil troubled him no more!

Putting the case bluntly, Munday was a spy and seems to have been naturally fitted by his character for the part he played. What use, however, he made of his information on his return to England in 1579 is not clear. There is nothing to show that he was sent abroad as a Government spy; nor, on the other hand, is there any evidence, save his own, to show

that he went abroad with the disinterested motives which he himself avouches—'a desire to see straunge Countreies, as also affection to learne the languages'.¹ It is safest, and on the whole, most reasonable, to conclude that he was simply an enterprising journalist, ready for any 'scoop' that came his way.

Having thus brought himself to the notice of the Government as a useful fellow and one not over-nice of conscience he was employed in 1581 as a witness in the trials of Campion and other captured Jesuits, and was finally taken into some sort of definite Government employ from at least the year 1584; and probably even earlier. Munday in the witness-box is not an edifying spectacle. He was used, with others of his kind, to bolster up the Government's fabricated charge of treason. Against Campion himself, according to all reports of the trial, he had next to nothing to say, but against those priests whom he asserts he saw at Rome he was voluble. In an account of the proceedings written by two Jesuits, John Fenn and John Gibbons, he gets what was probably no more than his deserts, in a marginal note against the narrative of the martyrdom of Robert Johnson:

'Mundaeus producitur velut commune refugium quando
'desunt veri testes et causa iusta.'

To be thus characterized as the usual last resource of the prosecution when no genuine witnesses could be obtained seems to have been no more than his due.

Every now and again details accumulate concerning his private life. From two pamphlets we know that in 1582 he was living in Barbican with his mother, and although the date of his marriage is not known it probably took place some time about this year. His eldest child was born in 1584,

¹ The genuineness of his original motives is perhaps supported by the fact that his companion, Thomas Nowell, became a convert to Romanism, and remained at the seminary when Munday returned to England.

and was christened at St. Giles, Cripplegate, on 28 June as 'Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Antonye Munday, gent.' During the next five years there are entries in the same register of the christenings of Rose, Priscilla, Richard, and Anne, and of the death of Rose at the age of three months. Again we are fortunate, this time in being spared a genealogical epilogue: except for a few facts about the son, Richard, Munday's posterity sinks into oblivion as completely as his ancestry. Both Munday and his son took up their freedom in the Drapers' Company,¹ the former in 1585 *per patrimonium*; and some time between 1582 and 1585 he left Barbican and removed to Cripplegate, where apparently he continued to reside until the end of his life.

From the time of Campion's trial until about 1592 Munday united the professions of literary hack and Government agent. Beginning as an informer he seems gradually to have become employed to ferret out cases of suspected recusancy, and finally to have become a 'messenger of her Majesty's Chamber', that is, a pursuivant, empowered to serve warrants and put people under arrest. He was a handy tool of the notorious Richard Topcliffe's, and he is mentioned by him in a letter to Sir John Puckering, the Queen's serjeant, as the person to whom the arrest of a certain Ralph Marshall had been entrusted. A curious point in this connexion is the fact that in the same year Munday dedicates the second part of his *Gerileon of England* to this same Ralph Marshall, and in his dedicatory epistle makes it evident that he was on terms of familiarity with both him and his wife, and had stayed at their house. It is perhaps hardly fair to draw any inference from this, but the inference, if drawn, would not appear to be to Munday's credit.

It is not possible here to do more than mention Munday's connexion with the Martin Marprelate Controversy, not

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Johnson for this information.

only as a pursuivant on the track of Martin and his travelling press, but probably also as a writer on the side of the bishops. I mention it, however, because the fact that he was one of the chief of Whitgift's officers from 1588 till 1590 has a slight bearing on another point to be dealt with later.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for the reputation of Munday's dramatic work, that readers are apt to come to it by way of Ben Jonson's hearty gibes. Meres spoke of him in 1598 as 'one of our best for comedy' and then added specific praise by singling him out as 'our best plotter'. What exactly was involved by this 'plotting' it is not easy to say; but if one may judge from that portion of the play of *Sir Thomas More* in Munday's handwriting it would seem to imply at any rate the planning out of the material and the first draft of the entire story. Judging by the skill with which Munday manages to combine into a congruous whole the varied elements in his early play of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, Meres's praise seems not unwarranted. The play is a pleasant fresh piece of work, with a real country atmosphere. Particularly noticeable is the way in which he manages to combine a really entertaining band of comic yokel characters with a romantic love story and with the Italian comedy motifs of disguise and of parental authority versus love. One has only to look at such a play as Greene's *James IV* to see what a vague idea even the best of Shakespeare's predecessors had of combining comic incidents with their story; but Munday not only works Turnop and his fellows into the fabric of his play with real skill, he also reveals in their prose scenes a genuine gift for humorous and natural dialogue. If, by 1594, Munday had written several other plays of this type and as good as this one extant specimen, there is no doubt that Meres's praise was in no way absurdly extravagant in 1598.

Of equal merit, but not so remarkable from the point of view of the development of the drama, are his two Robin Hood

plays, *The Death* and *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*. With *Sir John Oldcastle* they are the only three extant plays we have of the fourteen he wrote while working for the companies financed by Henslowe. In them he continues and elaborates the use of popular legend already begun in *John a Kent*. It is interesting to notice the form of the story which he uses: here, as elsewhere, Munday shows that he had a real instinct for what his audience of citizens and grocers' wives wanted: he raises the gallant yeoman to the hierarchy of bourgeois romance as Robert, Earl of Huntington.

Although little information regarding his non-extant plays can be gained from Henslowe's *Diary*, the inferences about his private life which can be drawn from the entries are significant. His finances must have been in a sorry state when we find him, only five days after he had earned £5 on the *Downfall*, borrowing 10s. from Henslowe on the security of the *Death*. Distinctly humorous, too, is the history of *Richard Coeur de Lion's Funerall*, as told by the brief entries in the *Diary*, although there may well have been a slightly grimmer aspect to it in the house in Cripplegate. The *Funerall* was begun by Robert Wilson the younger about 13 June, who on that date borrowed 5s. on it. Evidently his muse quickly proved unequal to the task, for on 14 June Chettle's aid was called in, and on the strength of this promised assistance Henslowe lent him 5s., 'in earneste of the booke,' and the next day advanced him yet such another sum. Two days later, after the hopeful collaborators have apparently cudgelled their brains in vain, 'our best plotter' is called in, and on the strength of this they all three promptly borrow 5s. each from Henslowe. Chettle and Munday had made enough progress with it by 23 June to be able to raise loans of 25s. and 20s. respectively. Inspiration failed them, however, on 24 June, and Drayton was added to the party:

he seems to have been a real acquisition, as Henslowe at once advances him 30s. After this they must have decided that the *Funerall's* credit was exhausted, because the next entry records that Wilson was paid in full for his part on 26 June, and after that nothing more is heard of the play, so presumably it was finished by their united efforts, and added to the repertory of the Admiral's men. Its history, however, gives us an amusing insight into the way that the wheels of Henslowe's drama machine went round.¹ As in August of the same year, Munday's credit with the players and Henslowe had sunk so low that not only was he unable to raise more than 10s. on an unwritten play, but also had to call in Drayton to guarantee its delivery within a fortnight, it is pleasant to record that on the first night of the playing of *Sir John Oldcastle* the position of these old friends had so improved that they actually received a bonus of 10s.

The later years of his life have not the interest of the early ones: from the time when he begins to subscribe himself 'Citizen and Draper' and occupies himself mainly with the business of City pageant-poet and with editing Stow's *Survey* the story undoubtedly grows duller. He would have been a much more effective figure if only he could have come to a violent end somewhere about 1600, instead of lingering on in a highly respectable old age, as 'servant to the City in sundrie employments'. His pageants are as dull as most, but they seem to have been an excellent source of income, when even a failure brought him in £45. Similarly with his edition of Stow: a municipal dedication proved financially valuable to the extent of £60, as is evident from an entry in the Guildhall Repertory, recording such a payment. From

¹ In case the 'apparently' and the 'seems' of this paragraph are not sufficient warning, honesty compels the admission that, if the history of the composition of the *Funerall* is sought for in all sober sadness, it is equally possible that all four were engaged on the play from the beginning.

this same source we get our only information concerning the last years of his life. In December 1623 Anthony Munday 'in consideration of his age and present wants' had 'granted unto him yearly, during his natural life, the nomination and benefit of one person to be made free of this Cittie by redemption'.¹ It would seem as if he had fallen on evil days, lingering on after his contemporaries. He died in 1633, and fate ironically accorded him an epitaph which is suggestively silent with regard to the facts which make his life and work of interest to-day, but confers upon him that crown of respectability after which he had so earnestly striven, commemorating him only as 'that ancient servant to the City Master Anthony Munday Citizen and Draper of London'.

In trying to determine the canon of Munday's works, amongst the problems that have had to be considered are the questions of his authorship of the Shepherd Tony poems, and of *Fedele and Fortunio*, *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, the question of his identity with Lazarus Pyott, the question of his authorship of *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait*, of *The Weakest goeth to the Wall*, and of two translations from the Dutch. As the first three of these have perhaps a slightly more general interest I shall concentrate on them, and then briefly consider the probable date of the play of *Sir Thomas More*.

There is, I consider, every reason short of absolute proof to attribute the Shepherd Tony poems of *England's Helicon* to Munday. On grounds of style there is more than sufficient evidence to justify it. Munday's acknowledged poems all go to prove that he had flashes of genuine lyric inspiration, although the greater part of his verse is very mediocre in quality. An impartial consideration of the seven poems in *England's Helicon* will lead the reader independently to a similar conclusion regarding the so-called Shepherd Tony. They are poems which would never have attracted any

¹ For this fact, also, I have to thank Mr. A. H. Johnson.

particular attention, had not one of them happened to be the exquisite 'Beauty sat bathing by a Spring'. It is difficult to see why those critics who have so stoutly denied the possibility of Munday's claim have not applied some of this energy to proving also that this poem could not possibly have been written by the same writer as the other six, which is only the inevitable corollary of their arguments. It is necessary also to remember that in his own day Munday had won high praise as a poet: Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* is sufficient witness to his contemporary reputation:

'Anthony Munday, an earnest trauller in this arte, and in
'whose name I haue seene very excellent workes, among
'which, surely, the most exquisite vaine of a witty poetical
'heade is shewed in the sweete sobs of Sheeheardes and
'Nymphes; a worke well worthy to be viewed, and to bee
'esteemed as very rare Poetrie.'

Praise such as this certainly heightens the likelihood that some of his poems would be included in such a collection as *England's Helicon*, more especially as he seems to have been a friend of John Bodenham. The only real complication in the matter came to light recently when in 1919 a perfect copy of *Fedele and Fortunio* was discovered in the Mostyn Collection. This copy, by possessing the title-page and dedication missing in the Chatsworth quarto, showed that, apparently, both Collier and Hazlitt were unfaithful to the facts in giving the author of the play as A. M. instead of M. A. The question, therefore, comes to be: is Munday's supposed authorship of this play finally discredited by this discovery, and if so, what then is to be made of the fact that one of the Shepherd Tony poems is to be found in it as a song sung by Fedele to Victoria?

As the Mostyn quarto disposes of the question of Chapman's authorship of the play even more effectually than of Munday's, it will not be necessary here to enter into a refuta-

tion of that theory. It is conceivable that Munday might transpose his own initials, and perhaps, too, those of the patron of his work; but, as it stands, M. A. is an impossible signature for Chapman, even supposing the style of the play resembled his, which it does not.

In considering Munday's claim it should be premised that, although transposing of initials is not a likely or well-authenticated occurrence in Elizabethan literature, and that in none of his works at present known to us does he ever sign himself M. A., there is also the fact that he is certainly the most likely claimant, by reason of the play's early date, and because there is no more likely owner of those initials. Without wishing to over-emphasize points of style, it is only reasonable to notice two things: one, the fact that no less than 216 lines of the play are written in Munday's favourite six-line stanza, rhyming *ababcc*, of which there are examples in *John a Kent* and throughout his work; and the other, the decided resemblance between the mock-Latin of Crackstone in this play and that of the learned clown Turnop in *Kent*, as also their common use of the word 'pediculus' for 'school-master', and the similarity between their high-sounding 'cannibal' words. Another point which is perhaps worth mentioning is the resemblance between Medusa's song in this play when she enters with a pedlar's basket, and the song in Munday's play of the *Downfall*, when Jinny and Friar Tuck enter in a similar disguise, singing 'What lacke ye?' Aware of Munday's economical habits it seems to be more than likely that both these songs are his.

Another clue is perhaps furnished by Munday's bibliography, a glance at which will show that it was almost habitual with him to publish several works one after another with the same publisher. In view of this fact it seems to me significant that, of his three works published between the years 1584 and 1586, two should have been published by Thomas Hacket,

the publisher of *Fedele and Fortunio*, to whom also his *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* was entered in 1584.

There is, finally, the question of whom the patron of the work might be, if we suppose the writer to have been Munday. It does not seem to me likely that M. R. is a reversal of the initials of Sheriff Richard Martin to whom Munday dedicated his *Breefe and true reporte of the Execution of Certaine Traytours* in 1582. It is slightly more possible that they may be those of the Ralph Marshall to whom he dedicates his *Gerileon* in 1592, and with whom I suspect he may have been connected as early as 1582. A third possibility, which I am inclined to regard as the most promising, is that M. R. may be a transposition of the initials of Roger Mostyn, Lord Mostyn's ancestor. This Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn Hall, Holywell, Flintshire, was born in 1567, matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1584, was knighted in 1606, and died in 1642. He was descended from Adda ap Iorwerth Dda of Pengwern, who married Isabel, a sister of Owen Glendower. It seems to me curious that the unique autograph manuscript of Munday's play of *John a Kent* and one of the only¹ three known copies of *Fedele and Fortunio* should both have been preserved at Mostyn Hall: that the one should be dedicated

¹ There can be no doubt that the copy of the play which Collier saw and described was neither the Mostyn nor the Devonshire quarto, but a third specimen differing from them both. As the dedication which he prints agrees in substance, and almost literally, with that of the Mostyn quarto, it would be curious that he should have produced a mythical John Heardson, Esq., as the patron of the work, if there was an M. R. there already to be identified at once as Matthew Roydon. It is possible that in this instance it is Munday who is guilty of dishonest tinkering, and not Collier: he was certainly morally capable of dedicating the same work to two different patrons, if anything were to be gained by it. That on one occasion he changed his mind about a dedication and transferred it from some one unknown to Ralph Marshall of Carleton in Nottingham he avows himself in the epistle to his *Gerileon of England, Part II*. In view of his 'John Heardson' it would not be surprising, if, when Collier's copy again comes to light, it should prove to be signed A. M.

to M. R.; that the other should be written around the doings of a magician popularly supposed to be Owen Gwendower and a Llewellyn Prince of Wales with both of whom the Mostyn family was connected by descent, and that it should be definitely stated to have for the scene of its action the very neighbourhood of Mostyn Hall in several of the scenes; and that, lastly, there should be definite resemblances of style between these two plays, unless they are the work of one and the same author, and that author Anthony Munday. I do not presume to suggest that I have 'proved', even to my own satisfaction, his authorship; but I suggest that to swallow so many coincidences all pointing to the same conclusion, and to strain at the simpler solution of Munday's probable authorship is unnecessary. To put the conclusion as undogmatically as possible, I should say that there is no positive evidence beyond the initials M. A. to discredit Munday's claim to this play and to the Shepherd Tony poems, and that these initials of themselves are not sufficient to cancel the cumulative evidence of these other points which I have brought forward.

To pass abruptly to the next problem suggested—the question of Munday's identity with Lazarus Pyott, while being extremely complicated, has not the same literary interest as the foregoing, and can therefore be dismissed more briefly. He is generally identified with him on the grounds that, because Book II of *Amadis de Gaule*, published in 1595 as translated by Lazarus Pyott, was incorporated in Munday's collected edition of the first four books published in 1619, that therefore Pyott was merely a pseudonym of Munday's, and that therefore Pyott's only other work, *The Orator*, was also Munday's. It has been pointed out by Dr. Henry Thomas that this line of reasoning is manifestly unsound, and that there is a very strong probability that Munday simply purloined another man's work. It is certainly

a reasonable inference from the following poem, signed H.C., prefixed to Munday's *Primaleon of Greece* (Part III) in 1619, that Munday and Pyott are two distinct persons :

Of the Translation, against a Carper.

Delicious phrase, well follow'd acts of glory,
Mixture of Loue, among fierce martial deeds,
(Which great delight vnto the Reader breeds)
Hath th'Inuentor kept t'adorne this story.

The same forme is obseru'd by the Translator,
Primaleon (sweet in French) keeps here like grace ;
Checking that Foole, who (with a blushles face)
To praise himselfe, in Print will be a prater.

Peace chattrring Py, be still, poor Lazarus ;
Rich are his gifts that thus contenteth vs.

The play on the words in the last line but one leads to the obvious inference that Lazarus Pyott had recently made some adverse criticism of some production of Munday's ; if the poem is to be taken literally he had made some comparison, in Munday's disfavour, of their relative merits as translators, and this had appeared in print. Now the translation of Munday's that had immediately preceded *Primaleon* was the collected edition of *Amadis* ; it was at this presumably that Pyott had been carping. When, however, Dr. Thomas goes on to deduce from this that Munday had purloined Pyott's translation, and had been openly accused by him of the theft, I cannot see that the case warrants such an extreme statement. It is obvious that there are other alternatives which would account for the presence of Pyott's work in Munday's edition, and, also, that the poem does not say that it is rebutting a charge of theft, and would surely have been more vituperative if such had been the case.

My own distrust of Dr. Thomas's argument was heightened

when I found that he attributed this crucial poem, signed H. C., to Henry Constable. For Dr. Thomas's theory it is essential that this poem should have been written in 1619, between the publication of the collected edition of *Amadis* and that of this third part of *Primaleon* to which it is prefixed; but as Constable died in 1613 this is hardly possible! My own tentative suggestion is that the poem was written by Munday's old friend Henry Chettle, who also wrote a commendatory epistle for his *Gerileon* in 1592. As Chettle died in or about 1607 it would be necessary to postulate an earlier edition of this *Primaleon* Bk. III; and this, I think, it is possible to do. Books I and II were originally published by Burby in 1595 and 1596, and as Book III was entered to Burby's widow on 6 October 1607, it is quite possible that it may have been published then. Nothing is easier than for such an edition to disappear completely: it has happened, for example, in the case of Munday's first edition of *Palmerin of England*, published in 1581-2.

To summarize the conclusions arrived at after a detailed examination of the matter: in the first place, I do not consider there is any internal evidence in either of the two works signed Lazarus Pyott to make Munday's authorship unlikely, and the evidence of style, in so far as it goes, is in favour of it—one seems to be frequently tracking Munday in the snow of his favourite phrases. In the second place, there is on the whole more reason to suppose that the book would be Munday's rather than the venture of an unknown writer. Thirdly, it is curious that five cases of apparent anonymity on Munday's part all occur within the years 1595 to 1599, every single one of these books having some highly 'suspicious' element of one sort or another to distinguish it: fourthly, it is curious, if nothing more, that hitherto no other book of Pyott's and no mention of him has been traced in contemporary literature; and fifthly, that there are one or two discrepancies in the

statements which he makes about himself which make it impossible for us to do as Dr. Thomas asserts we should and take his statements at their face value.¹ In the absence of any conclusive evidence in favour of Pyott's existence it would be unsafe to assert that he and Munday can no longer be identified. Apart from the poem there is no real proof, and it may be possible to interpret this in some other way: although it does not seem to me a likely interpretation, Bolton Corney drew from the poem the impression that Chettle was twitting his old friend on his former pseudonym. The most, as I think, that can safely be said, is that it renders Munday's authorship of *Amadis Bk. II* and *The Orator* doubtful.

The problems of the play of *Sir Thomas More* were brought into prominence again recently when, in an article in *The Times Literary Supplement* in July of this year, Mr. W. J. Lawrence endeavoured to prove, firstly, that the play was acted and that the only existing manuscript is a prompt copy; and secondly, that it is possible to date it as early as 1589. My only excuse for promulgating an opinion on the matter

¹ All we know of Lazarus Pyott from his dedicatory epistles is that he was a soldier newly embarking on a literary career in 1595, with quite a good opinion of himself as a translator. These first two statements, Dr. Thomas considers, must be taken at their face value, and therefore make Munday's authorship an impossibility, as—so far as we know—he was never a soldier and had written some thirty books by this time. My own opinion of 'Pyott's' veracity is not encouraged when we find him in each case calling both his *Amadis II* (1595) and his *Orator* (1596) his first piece of literary work. The caution necessary in accepting any of Munday's statements warns one to be careful of accepting those of any of his Grub Street brethren, if there are any suspicious circumstances; so that, having found one 'inaccuracy' in Pyott's statements it seems to me that the internal evidence is more or less discredited. If we can adduce convincing external proof that Pyott is a separate individual, then these epistles give us so many details about him that may or may not be true: if it is possible to prove that Pyott is merely a pseudonym of Munday's, then these details are simply a part of his attempt to lend verisimilitude to 'an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative'.

and rushing in where even angels may very well fear to tread, is that thirteen pages of the manuscript are in Munday's handwriting. In the absence of any definite reasons or evidence to the contrary I consider it is legitimate to take this as equivalent to the fact of his authorship¹ of this portion of the play, which has thus been brought within the scope of my dissertation on his life and works. After being brought into touch with such a fascinating problem he would be indeed faint-hearted who set it aside without having made his own attempt to suggest a date for the play.

The details obtainable regarding Munday's career in the late fifteen-eighties and the first two years of the next decade make such an early year as 1589 an unlikely date for him. 1589 happens to be the year when the Marprelate controversy was at its height, and, as mentioned before, Munday was connected with the controversy as one of Whitgift's pursuivants and also probably as a writer on the side of the Bishops. There are various references to him in the tracts themselves, and in December 1588 there is a record of him at work in his capacity of pursuivant, in a long account of his arrest of a certain Giles Wiggington, a suspected Martinist. Similarly in 1589 it is evident from Whitgift's imagined address to his pursuivants in the Martinist tract, *The Just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior*, that he was still one of the Archbishop's officers on the track of Martin and his travelling press. As we have already seen, he was also engaged during the years from 1584 until 1592 in hunting down recusancy under Topcliffe. In 1588 he dedicated his *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* to 'the worshipfull and his especiall good freend Master Richard Topcliffe', and in 1592 we know from the reference in Harleian MSS. 6998, p. 31, that he was still working under him. His own statements regarding his movements during these years are definite and by no

¹ i. e. authorship, more or less complicated by collaboration, in all probability.

means negligible. Taking 1588 as a downward limit and 1592 as an upward limit, the following significant references may be found in his books. In the epistle to his readers in his *Palladine of England*, published in 1588, he asks them to excuse its manifold faults 'for I beeying often absent'; and in a similar concluding epistle adds, 'Diuers foule faults 'are escaped in the imprinting, in some places words mistaken '... and diuers others by mishap left out, and partly by 'want of my attendance to read the proues, beeing called 'away by matters of greater importance, and whereto I am 'bound by dutie of mine office.' Even more to the point is the statement he makes in his introductory epistle to his edition of *Gerileon of England*, published in 1592 :

'Since my first entring on this Historie, to translate it :
'I haue been diuers and sundrie times countermanded by her
'Maesties appointment in the place where I serue, to post
'from place to place on such affaires as were enioyned mee,
'so that not hauing fully finished one sheete, and the Printer
'beginning almost as soone as my selfe, I haue been greatly
'his hinderance, and compelled to catch hold on such little
'leasures, as in the morning ere I went to horse-back, or in
'the euening comming into mine Inne, I could compasse
'from companie. . . '

Farther on, to the patron of his work, Master Ralph Marshall of Carleton in Nottingham, he says :

'At your house I wrote a sheete or two, and elsewhere in
'your companie, as occasion serued ; and sithence in a long
'lingring journey I haue knit up the rest.'

And in a complimentary epistle prefixed to the same book Chettle further bears witness to Munday's frequent absences, and speaks of 'your late employment about her Maesties affaires'.

It does not seem probable, on the face of it, that Munday is likely to have been occupied with the play of *Sir Thomas*

More during these years. In view of the perpetual conflict between the players and the civic authorities, and of the chance of coming 'up against' the censor with any play of this type, it is not likely that any playwright wrote in ignorance of a certain element of risk when dealing with matters even faintly and remotely political or topical. That Munday and any other mere playwright would have taken the risk on every occasion is probably true; but I very much doubt whether the astute pursuivant, characterized by Topcliffe as 'one that wants no wit' would have taken any such risk, however remote and slight.

There is also another small point in connexion with the authorship of the play which is, I think, unfavourable to an early date. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has lately expressed himself as confident that Dr. Greg's attribution of *Hand E* to Dekker is correct. This possibility of assigning one of the additions to Dekker makes the fifteen-eighties again an unlikely date. Dekker was probably born about 1570—possibly even as late as 1577—which would make him a youth of not more than eighteen at most in 1589. The men who could enlist the craftsman capable of producing the famous 'Shakespearian' scenes would not be very likely to turn to a raw lad for help in such a critical moment, when, as Dr. Greg suggests, it was a case of all hands to the pump. There is no record of any literary or dramatic work done by Dekker prior to 1598, but the young man who was beginning to be known to the dramatic world in that year might quite well have been called in to help in an emergency about 1595 or 1596.

The second important objection to an early date for Munday's portion of the play, and therefore necessarily to the play with its additions, is based on the evidence furnished by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's detailed study of Munday's handwriting. A brief summary of his views will

quickly show their bearing on the question. On the impression derived from a general survey of the handwriting of *More* and *Kent* he considers that *Kent* is the earlier. A detailed examination of the formation of the individual letters then leads him to the conclusion that *More* can unhesitatingly be dated later because it shows the full development of peculiarities only hinted at in *Kent*. He shows, for example, that Munday's G appears frequently in *Kent* in a normal form, that a more cursive form also appears, and that in *More* a development of this cursive form—for the sake of greater ease and speed in writing—has completely ousted the more normal and elaborate form. On examining the third of Munday's manuscripts, *The Heauen of the Mynde* (dated 1602), he finds in the first place, that 'the style is the same' as the style of the hand in *More*, and especially that among 'the capital letters the modifications which differentiate the letters G, P, and T in *More* from the examples in *Kent* are 'repeated in this MS., but not further developed'; and, in the second place, that this manuscript conveys the impression that the hand of the writer is ageing and losing vigour. He then naturally suggests that, from the known circumstances of Munday's life, we are justified in thinking that these modifications of his handwriting as seen in *More* might perfectly easily have developed in a few years.

The application of his examination, therefore, comes to this: that in 1602 Munday writes in a hand considerably older and weaker than in the play of *More*, and that *More* and *Kent* need not be separated in date by more than a few years. If *Kent* could be dated with any certainty, both an upward and a downward date limit would then be acquired for *More*. December 1596, the date at the end of *Kent*, added in another hand, is generally held not to be the date of composition. Nevertheless there is not a scrap of evidence to justify us in putting *Kent* back any farther than 1594,

unless, indeed, one adopts seriously a suggestion which Sir Edward Maunde Thompson himself makes but does not use, namely the fact that as *Kent* is written on Dutch writing paper, with a water-mark which can be dated 1585-99, Munday may have been writing this play as early as 1585. In 1602, however, Munday used southern French paper, known to have been used in Toulouse and Lyons in 1587-90, which rather destroys the plausibility of any such argument.

The most, as it seems to me, that can be said with any confidence on the evidence furnished by palaeography, is this: that *More* and *Kent* are much more nearly related than *More* and *The Heauen of the Mynde*. If, therefore, we accept Dr. Greg's identification of *Kent* with *The Wiseman of West Chester*, we have as our downward date limit the year 1594, and 1602 as the upward limit. Taking, then, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's suggestion of 'an interval of two or three years' between *Kent* and *More*, we get, approximately, 1596-7 for the latter, leaving an interval of five to six years between *More* and *The Heauen of the Mynde*.

What other evidence there is tends to confirm such a date. Fleay has cited two historical parallels which are both in favour of a date subsequent to October 1595. He considered that the insurrection scene intended a topical reference to the prentice riots of June 1595, referred to in Maitland's *London*, and more explicitly in Stow, who writes:

'In the year 1595 the poor Tradesmen made a Riot upon the Strangers in Southwark, and other parts of the City of London. Whereupon was a presentment of the great Inquest for the said Borough, concerning the outrageous Tumult and Disorder unjustly committed there upon Thursday June 12 1595 and the Leaders were punished and also the chief Offenders. The like Tumults began at the same time within the Liberties where such Strangers commonly harboured. And upon the Complaint of the

'Elders of the Dutch and French Churches Sir John Spenser, 'Lord Maior, committed some young Rioters to the Counter.' Even more pertinent is his second parallel, which, he suggests, exists between the committing of Rochester for 'capitall contempt' (fol. 17 b), and the actual imprisonment in the Tower of the Earl of Hertford in October 1595. In a letter from the Queen to the Countess of Hertford, dated 5 November 1595, the offence is described as 'an act of lewd and proud contempt against our own direct prohibition'. It is certainly curious that Tylney should have required the excision of ll. 1247-75, unless there was some 'modern instance' to which they bore too close a resemblance for his cautious taste. Dr. Greg has reminded us that naturally such an incident as the insurrection scene in *More* is not necessarily topical; but it seems to me that from the censor's point of view there would have been no harm in the play unless this scene was too topical, and that there would have been no question of such rigorous excision unless it touched too nearly on actual and recent civic or political disturbances. Some light would seem to be cast on the matter by a letter in the *Remembrancia* from the Lord Mayor and Alderman to the Privy Council, dated 13 September 1595; objecting to plays, they write

'they move wholly to imitacon and not to the avoyding of
 'those vyces wch. they represent wch wee verely think to be
 'the chief cause . . . of the late stirr and mutinous attempt
 'of those fiew apprentics and other srvants who wee doubt
 'not drierw their infection from these and like places'
 (*Remembrancia*, ii. 103).

Now either this letter refers to a fresh outbreak of rioting perhaps in the month of September, in which case the censor would have a double reason for taking fright at an insurrection scene in a play, seeing the potency with which such things were credited by the authorities: or else it refers to the

June rioting, in which case it was still sufficiently fresh in men's minds to make a cautious censor still wary of such play scenes. Either alternative supplies Tylney with a reasonable motive. Given in a play, written somewhere about the last few months of 1595 or the first few months of 1596, which contains a good insurrection scene, also an incident which might conceivably have appeared to allude to the case of an important nobleman imprisoned in the Tower from October to January because he was endeavouring to have acknowledged the legitimacy of a marriage that might affect the succession to the throne, and about which the Queen felt very strongly, and I think it is not difficult to account for Tylney's excisions, which, in view of the fact that plays such as the *Life and Death of Jack Straw* were allowed to pass, would otherwise be more or less unexplainable.

One more allusion that seems to point to 1595-6 must also be mentioned. It was noticed by Mr. Percy Simpson in his discussion of the play in *The Library* for January 1917. He shows that Jack Faulkner's complaint, 'Moore had bin better a scowrd More ditch than a notcht me thus', when More orders him to have his shaggy hair cut, may well be pointed at the scouring of Moore-ditch in 1595. Stow records that in this year the small portion of the town ditch between Bishopsgate and Mooregate 'was clensed and made 'somewhat broder, but filling againe very fast, by reason of 'overrasyng the ground neare adioyning, therefore never 'the better'. As Mr. Simpson suggests, 'the allusion would 'have point just before the scouring or just after the 'failure.'

To return to Munday: so far as he is concerned, and remembering that 1597-1602 is the period of his greatest dramatic activity, it is most reasonable to demand 1595-6 as the most possible date for *More*, when that date is supported also by various other items of evidence. Being uncon-

vinced by Mr. Lawrence's statements about composition, rehearsing, and prompt copies, I do not feel that the only unimpeachable item of evidence which he brings forward, namely the entry of the name of the actor Goodal against the part he was to play, is sufficient to warrant us in scrapping the above, which all favour a later date. I would suggest, therefore, on these grounds, that, until some more positive facts are forthcoming, it is reasonable to maintain that *More* was 'plotted' by Munday, and perhaps written and revised under much the same conditions as *The Funerall of Richard Coeur de Lion*, in the winter months of 1595 to 1596.

Such a digression has perhaps taken us a little way from Anthony Munday, but at this point, having tried to justify the devoting of this hour to him by showing that he is involved in questions, such as this of *Sir Thomas More*, which have a wider interest, I should now like to turn to a brief consideration of the intrinsic merit of his plays and his prose work, and justify it on this ground as well. His prose work has been even more generally neglected than his dramatic productions, and with equally little reason. Whereas he is generally dismissed with a contemptuous reference as one of the many imitators of Lyly's *Euphues*, the truth is that not only is his novel decidedly more interesting than Lyly's more famous work, but it is also a definite stage farther on in the history of the evolution of the English novel. There is a verve and a sprightliness about the conversation, and a mastery of dialogue that gives it a great advantage over Lyly's pointed but unnatural and often stilted wit. Munday has also a far better idea of telling a story; the second of the three parts of his book is a good story of adventure, told with considerable gusto and spirit, and though savouring strongly of knight-errantry and Munday's romance-reading, is redeemed from any dullness by the character of the hero, who bears a suspicious resemblance to Munday himself, and is

original enough to manifest a strong unwillingness to risk his life in rescuing the lady!

In his *Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* Munday gives us an autobiographical fragment at once simply written in a good, easy, straightforward narrative style, graphic, vivid, interesting, and amusing. The smug satisfaction with which he regards his own exploits as a spy, and the implied tributes which he pays to his own ingenuity in dissembling and lying, create for us a feeling of character as realistic and as complete as ever we get from Jack Wilton or from Greene's death-bed repentances. Munday in his own crude way manages to anticipate something of the method of *Jonathan Wild* and of *Barry Lyndon*. As in few other prose works of such an early date as 1582 the dialogue is extremely natural, and as in *Zelauto* gives the effect of actual conversation in a way that is never attained by *Euphues*. Often, too, he anticipates the familiar style that has been so justly praised in Nashe's mature work. Unlike Nashe, however, his style has in it nothing of the extravagant or boisterous, and he is in every way his rival in his use of the paragraph as an aid to the clearness of his story.

In 1580 Elizabethan prose fiction had barely come into being. Even *Euphues* has no hint of a story told for its own sake. Realism and the power of characterization belong to the last decade of the century—to the work of Nashe and Deloney. But in Munday's two unduly neglected prose works of 1580 and 1582 all these elements are already to be found, and what is more, he can be realistic without being merely animal or dirty.

Munday is also of more importance in the history of the development of Elizabethan drama than seems generally to have been allowed. Hitherto Lyly and Greene have shared the honours as Shakespeare's predecessors, but Munday's plays of *John a Kent* and *Fedele and Fortunio* demand that he should be ranked with them. In these two early plays of

1584 and 1594 he manifests a sense of dramatic construction, a feeling for good dialogue, an appreciation of native settings and native characters, a capacity for the free use of certain elements of Italian comedy, and the power to combine popular legend with romance or history. Greene has the advantage over Munday in his characterization of women, and probably in a certain priority of date. Lyly has the advantage of him in the matter of wit and repartee; but in these other respects enumerated Munday sometimes outrivals them both and generally equals them. He has unjustly, I think, been denied the praise that is due to the pioneer. Greene and Lyly were never forced into competing with that wonderful first decade of the next century; but Munday was contemporary with so many generations that one forgets to rank him, so far as these early plays are concerned, with these others who died in time to make sure of their fame as Shakespeare's predecessors.

Munday seems to have been fated to strike out in new lines only to show the way to other writers, and then to watch them outstripping him, instead of achieving himself. It is the same with his prose as with his plays: he had in his composition a formidable rival to both Nashe and Deloney, but after having given promise of it as early as 1582 he turned instead to journalism. He could have written an 'Elizabethan novel' that would have rivalled their best work in point of style, composition, and interest; and instead he devoted himself to the translation of *Amadis* and *Palmerin*, and to the business of city-pageant poet. His almost incredible voluminousness becomes more than aggravating if the imagination is allowed to dwell upon that unwritten novel. But even as it is, both *Zelauto* and *The Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* are of importance in the history of the antecedents of the novel; and there is, perhaps, even some profit for us in a perusal of a portion of his dreary and interminable moraliz-

ings and his wretched pamphlets. With his ballads and his romances these religious treatises and political catch-pennies formed the greater part of the ordinary reading of the men of his time. There is little use in imagining either the idle or the industrious apprentice as turning for his recreation to the reading of *King Lear* or *Much Ado*; they both probably spent their twopences and threepences on the *Taking of Campion* or *The Englishe-Romayne Lyfe*, and enjoyed the *Watchwoord to England* and *The Dumble Diuine Speaker*. It would be superfluous to draw the obvious parallel to-day.

So far as character is concerned Munday is his own best biographer. We are continually getting sidelights on it from his books. The whole of the *Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* is full of autobiography and confession, and *Zelauto* has a strong personal flavour at times. Surely *Zelauto's* story of his encounter with banditti near Naples is reminiscent of Munday's own similar adventure with disbanded mercenaries near Boulogne :

'When I was come thyther I knew not what to doo, because
'I was freendlesse, moneylesse, and dispoyled out of my
'garments. At last, having espyed an Osteria I boldly
'entered, putting myselfe in the hands of God, to whome
'I referred the paying of my charges.'

Impecunious he may have been, but he was certainly no loiterer on the primrose path of Bohemianism. Especially in the later years of his life, those glimpses which we have of him show him busily engaged in picking up all the crumbs he can. There is an entertaining extract from the ledger book of the Fishmongers' Company, concerning the pageant *Chrysanaleia*, which he wrote for them in 1616.

'Court. 9 Dec. 1616.

'Anthony Munday, the poett, gratified. At this court
'Anthony Munday did exhibit his petition, to have some

'gratification gyuen him for cc books of the late shewes and
'speeches at the presentment of the Lord Maior, more than
'he agreed to deluyer them, and for lynks and for spoyling
'the silk cotes which the halberdiers did weare, losing their
'badges, and other things mentioned in a bill exhibited by
'him, for which he seith he doth desire to have Xli. in
'recompense. And vpon consideration had of the particulars
'of his bill, it is agreed that he shall haue Vli. xvs. gyuen
'vnto him, which he is content thankfully to accept in full
'satisfaction of all his demands.'

He evidently knew how to send in a bill with a safe margin to allow of cutting down.

The impudent innocence of his defence of the part he played as a Jesuit spy is very characteristic; but it does not equal the pious snifle with which he defends himself and the other witnesses at the *Campion* trial. Quoting from a French pamphlet its description of them as 'all of very base condition' and 'so well seene in lyes that they seemed to be borne and nourished therein', he replies sanctimoniously:

'As for our baseness or simpleness, we will not stande to
'contend with him: though we know we haue all one father,
'and that we are all made of one mettall. Againe we know,
'God hath chosen the despised of the world, to cōfoūd
'them that thinke themselues moste mighty.'

At such irreproachable sentiments the shade of *Pecksniff* turns green with envy, and it is amusing to notice that in his translations of the *Amadis* and *Palmerin* romances he anticipates the lamented Mr. Bowdler. Citizen and Draper seems to have been the summit of his ambition: for him as for *David Copperfield* there was an 'Agnes ever pointing upwards', but Munday's Agnes was named *Respectability*.

As a result there has gathered around Anthony Munday none of the attraction of the Marlowe legend: he has no picturesque accessories. What legend there is has been

begotten by Criticism on Insufficient Knowledge, and the offspring is Dullness—a 'dismal draper with misplaced literary ambitions'. Browning would have enjoyed Munday however: he was no genius, but he was certainly a person of importance in his own day. I am very conscious that to make him as interesting to others as he has been to myself would have required the interpretive capacity of the author of the *Parleyings*, and perhaps some such method; in self-exculpation, therefore, I can only quote Munday himself: 'You can haue no more of a cat but her skin, nor of me more then I am able to do.'

DISCUSSION

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Greg, after congratulating Miss Byrne on her most interesting paper, added a few remarks on *Fidele and Fortunio* and *Sir Thomas More*. He has supplied the following notes:

Collier quoted the dedication of *Fidele*, but gave the addressee as 'Maister John Heardson, Esquier' and the writer as 'A. M.', whereas in the Mostyn copy the former appears as 'Maister M. R.' and the latter as 'M. A.' Since no reason can be suggested why Collier should have invented a wholly unknown John Heardson, we must, I think, assume that the dedications vary. It is, however, for obvious reasons less likely that they should vary in the name of the writer than in that of the addressee, and it is still possible that Collier may have reversed the initials to make them fit Munday. It would appear, however, that Hazlitt, as well as Collier, had seen the now missing copy, for in his *Handbook* he not only mentions the Heardson—A. M. dedication (referring to Collier) but likewise 'a Prologue spoken before the Queen, consisting of two 6-line stanzas' which Collier does not mention, but which is now known to exist. Unless, therefore,

Hazlitt had access in 1867 to unpublished information of Collier's, the 'A. M.' signature must be genuine, and the reversal of the initials is not a speculation but a fact. This would greatly strengthen the case for Munday's authorship, and render quite plausible the suggestion that the initials 'M. R.' are also reversed.

In considering the date of *More* there is one palaeographical clue that has not yet been followed. Hand C of *More*, that of the playhouse reviser, is also found in the plot of the *Seven Deadly Sins* belonging to Strange's men, *c.* 1591, and in the fragmentary plot of an unidentified play belonging to the Admiral's men not later than 1598. Since, of course, the writer worked on *More* while still with the Strange-Chamberlain company, the date of his joining the Admiral's, if ascertained, would give us a *terminus ad quem* for *More*. The two most likely occasions of his transferring his services would be in the spring of 1594, when Alleyn and probably others left the Chamberlain's and refounded the Admiral's company, or in the autumn of 1597, when there was a further reconstruction of the latter company. On general grounds the former occasion would be the more probable, since the two companies concerned were then brought into direct relation, and probability would be raised almost to certainty could it be shown that the fragmentary plot was before October 1597. This, however, does not seem feasible: though the evidence is not conclusive, the fact that two of the cast mentioned also appear in the plot of *Alcazar* after the reconstruction, but not in that of *Frederick and Basilea* shortly before it, points to 1598 as the more likely date.

THE PRINTING OF FIELDING'S WORKS

By J. PAUL DE CASTRO

No fine set speech, no cadence, no turn'd periods,
But a plain home-spun truth.—Dryden's *All for Love*, Act 4.

IN the issue of *The Library* of July 1916 (Third Series, No. 27, Vol. VII, pp. 177-90) there appeared an article by Mr. Austin Dobson portraying the business relationships once subsisting between Henry Fielding (1707-54) and the publisher Andrew Millar (1707-68).

It is here proposed to take the inquiry a step farther and exhibit specific details of the printing-work performed by William Strahan (1715-85) for Andrew Millar, as Fielding's publisher.

Strahan's ledgers, posted in his own hand, are still extant, and for the purposes of a paper, 'Henry Fielding's Last Journey,' contributed to *The Library* in April 1917, their examination became a matter of moment. But the investigation remained unaccomplished, for on making application to Messrs. Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd., Strahan's successors,¹ I was informed that the ledgers were in Leipzig, whither they had been sent to the Printers' Exhibition as documents of historical interest. When the ledgers were lately returned to their proper custody, the directors very courteously invited me to take such extracts from them as I was minded, and for the permission and facilities accorded I beg to express my gratitude.

¹ *The Story of a Printing House, being A Short Account of the Strahans and Spottiswoodes*, 2nd ed., 1912.

The first book that made Fielding's permanent reputation, *Joseph Andrews*, appeared in 1742. Though published by Millar it was printed by Henry Woodfall of Paternoster Row, and the following unpriced details from the ledgers of that famous newspaper-printer were made public in *Notes and Queries* of 2 June 1855 :

Woodfall's Ledgers, 1734-1747.

Feb. 15, 1743. History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews etc., 12mo. in 2 vols., no. 1500 with alterations.

May 31, 1742. The 2nd ed. of Joseph Andrews, 12mo., 2000 27 shts.

The first edition was published 22 February (*Daily Post*), and the second in August (*Gent. Mag.*, p. 448), and between the printing of the first and second editions, i.e. on 13 April, the author assigned his copyright for £183 : 11 : 0 to Millar. The original conveyance, drafted throughout in Fielding's own hand, is preserved in the Forster Collection of manuscripts at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1743 an illustrated edition was put in hand, by which time Millar had transferred his printing to Strahan, as the following entry on folio 39 from the recently inspected ledgers testifies :

Feb. 20, 1743. For printing the Adventures of Joseph Andrews

20 sheets small pica 12mo, no. 3000, @ £2 : 5 : 0 per sheet £45 : 0 : 0

This third edition, with 12 cuts from the copper by J. Hulett, was published 24 March (*St. James's Evening Post*). In little over a year 6,500 copies of this famous 'epic of the road' were distributed.

On 3 June 1742 Woodfall had printed '700 proposals for Mr. Fielding' (*Notes and Queries*, supra). These were invitations to the public to patronize his projected *Miscellanies*, as the *Daily Post* two days later announced : 'This day are publish'd Proposals for printing by Subscription MISCELLANIES 'in Three Volumes Octavo by Henry Fielding Esq.' After enumerating their proposed contents—the third volume was

to contain that masterpiece of satire, the 'History of Jonathan Wild'—the advertisement states that the volumes will certainly be delivered by 25 December. The serious illness of his wife, however, defeated Fielding's purpose, and the next relevant entry in Strahan's ledger runs:

April 2, 1743. For printing the first vol. of Fielding's Miscellanies 26½ sheets pica 8°, no. 1000 coarse and 200 fine, @ £1 : 2 : 6 per sheet

£29 : 16 : 0

The three volumes were published 7-12 April (*London Daily Post*), the printers of the second and third volumes still remain unidentified. A later issue, called a second edition on the title-pages, was advertised in the same month, but it was the residue only of the original impression with new title-pages and the omission of the subscribers' list. Originally 'Printed for the Author : and sold by A. Millar opposite to Catherine Street in the Strand',¹ the new title-pages became 'Printed for A. Millar'.

In November 1744 Fielding lost his wife, and in the following year his activities were requisitioned by the Government in the pending struggle with the younger Pretender. Fielding, a consummate propagandist, made his influence on the fortunes of the Rebellion first felt by the production of a shilling pamphlet posted by Strahan thus:

Oct. 1745. For printing a Serious Address to the People of Great Britain 3 sheets English octavo, no. 3000, @ £1 : 17 : 0 per sheet

£5 : 11 : 0

This entry in an account between Strahan and Millar comes as a surprise, because the title-page of the *Serious Address* states it to be 'Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row'. Millar's motive in enlisting the co-operation of Cooper probably lay in the fact that being the close friend of James Thomson and other distinguished Scotchmen,

¹ See an article, 'Over against Catherine Street in the Strand,' *Notes and Queries* for 23 October 1920.

and as the son of an aged father residing in Paisley,¹ he thought it prudent not to identify himself too closely with Fielding's attack on his fellow-countrymen. Although Strahan was every whit as Scotch there existed at that date no Act compelling printers to affix an imprint to the products of their presses.

The next item supplies a few details of a pamphlet of which no copy is known :

Oct. 1745. For printing the History of the Rebellion 2½ sheets,
no. 1500 @ 22/-

£3 : 6 : 0

The reasons for the ascription of this *History* which contemporary advertisements stated to be also published by Cooper and priced one shilling, will be found in Cross's excellent *History of Henry Fielding*, 1918, iii, at p. 311.

Under the same date follows :

For printing Dialogue between Devil Pope and Pretender²
2½ sheets, no. 500

£2 : 2 : 0

For 2½ reams of Paper for Do. 11/6

£1 : 11 : 7½

This *Dialogue*, now scarce, was published on 5 November as announced in the *True Patriot* newspaper which Fielding was launching.

The *Serious Address* was a notable success, the 3,000 copies being immediately absorbed. Fielding's ringing appeal was well calculated to sting England into energy at a time of imminent national danger. In the same month Strahan supplied the demand for further copies :

For printing the 2nd ed. of the Serious Address 3½ sheets, no. 1000

£2 : 19 : 6

For over running a sheet of Do. for the first impression, no. 500

10 : 0

For half a ream of Paper for Do.

5 : 9

¹ Barbauld, i. 144.

² Apparently a current phrase. 'Duke St. Westminster, 4 Feb. 1744. 'I write to you amidst the terrors of the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender; the French Fleet is said to be near our shores. . . .'—Fifth Earl of Orrery to his Countess. *The Orrery Papers*, 1903, ii, p. 181.

Those who have compared the first and second editions will know that Fielding augmented the latter with, 'A Calm Address to all Parties in Religion, whether Protestant or Catholic, on the score of the Present Rebellion.'

The 'over-running' presumably necessitated replacing some of the work in 'the sticks', but if due to a printer's blunder why was Millar mulcted?

The next item is also a lost Fielding pamphlet, the title suggesting a humorous piece, but whether of a political cast is undetermined.

Nov. 1746 (fo. 59). The Female Husband 1½ sheets pica 8°, no. 1000 £2 : 2 : 0
For ¾ reams of Paper for Do. @ 11/- £1 : 18 : 6

The full title of this fugitive piece, which was sold at 6d., ran, 'The Female Husband; or, the Surprising History of Mrs. Mary alias Mr. George Hamilton, convicted of marrying a young woman of Wells.' Reasons for attributing it to Fielding are given in Cross's *Fielding*, iii, at p. 313.¹ That it 'took' may be gathered from the next entry:

June 1747. For casting off 250 more of Do. 5 : 0
For 17½ quires of paper for Do. 9 : 7½

The next pamphlet entered under the same date had a famous vogue politically in its day:

For printing Dialogue between Gentleman and Alderman six sheets, no. 3500, @ £2 : 2 : 0 per sheet £12 : 12 : 0
For drink money to the men

The demand was so pressing that the compositors had to be stimulated, and a further batch was required:

July 1747. For reprinting Dialogue six sheets, no. 1000 @ 17/- per sheet (deducting 18/- for 2 sheets standing) £4 : 4 : 0

Cross's statement that the second edition was published on 19 December can scarcely be substantiated, although advertised on that date (as to remainders probably) in the *Jacobite's Journal*, a newspaper Fielding had launched on 5 December.

¹ See note at end.

The next entry is certainly an arresting one, for it shows that Fielding's original plan, and that, too, when the novel was unquestionably some way advanced, was to publish *Tom Jones* by subscription.

Nov. 1747. Receipts for Mr. Fielding's Foundling, no. 250 with paper

7:6

Tom Jones notwithstanding, politics still made inroads into Fielding's time. Early in December an anonymous pamphlet appeared purporting to be a confession of strong Jacobite leanings, if not of downright treachery, found among the papers of Thomas Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces, who had recently died. It was so manifestly a forgery, published for insidious purposes, that Fielding rose to arms at once as Strahan's next entry shows :

Dec. 1747. Answer to Apology for 2nd Rate Minister 3 sheets, no. 500 @ 14/-

£2:2:0

The full title ran, 'A Proper Answer to a late Scurrilous 'Libel entitled An Apology for the Conduct of a late celebrated Second-Rate Minister,' and opened with the trenchant sentence, 'When popery without a mask stalks publicly 'abroad, and Jesuits preach their doctrines in print, with 'the same confidence as when the last popish prince was 'seated on the throne, it becomes high time for every man, 'who wishes well to his country, to offer some antidote to 'the intended poison.' It was published 24 December, and it appears to have commanded attention, for Strahan next enters :

Jan. 1748. 2nd ed. of Answer to Apology 3 sheets, no. 500

£1:14:0

Joseph Andrews was a good seller, as the next entry proves :

June 1748. Joseph Andrews 20 sheets, no. 2000, @ £1:16:0 per sheet

£36:0:0

This, the fourth edition, was Millar's venture only and brought no money to Fielding. Cross tells us that it was published

on 5 November 1748 and was dated 1749.¹ After the *Answer*, written in defence of Winnington, nothing direct from Fielding's pen is entered for a year, when, on folio 65, we alight on one of the English classics :

Jan. 1749. Foundling 81 sheets, no. 2000 with many alterations,

@ £1 : 15 : 0

£141 : 15 : 0

The first edition of *Tom Jones*, in six volumes, was published on 28 February. What proportion of six volumes the above represents is not evident. The demand was so great that a second edition was at once put in hand, and so pressing that the work was parcelled out among several printers. This appears to be the inference from the next entry :

Feb. 1749. Foundling 2nd ed. 18 sheets, no. 1500 @ £1 : 6 : 0
per sheet

£23 : 8 : 0

Cross is of opinion that the second edition appeared on 13 April. Millar had acquired the copyright so far back as 11 June 1748 for six hundred pounds, and he no doubt had a remarkable bargain, for the second edition was evidently soon exhausted :

March 1749. Foundling 3rd ed. small pica 55 sheets, no. 3000

@ £2 : 6 : 0 per sheet

£126 : 10 : 0

Cross states the third edition to have been published on the same day as the second, i.e. 13 April (*Fielding*, iii. 317). If this be so I am not a sufficient bibliographer to explain Strahan's next entry on folio 71 :

June 1749. Composing a sheet of the Foundling an imperfection

12 : 0

Early in December 1748 Fielding had been appointed a magistrate for the City of Westminster, and a few months later a magistrate for Middlesex, greatly enlarging his jurisdiction. So competent did he prove himself that in May 1749 he was appointed chairman of the Westminster Sessions.

¹ During the year 1748 Strahan removed from Wine Office Court to New Street.

In the following month it became his official duty to charge the Grand Jury, and in accordance with the usual custom he was requested by the Jury to have his charge printed, but what is most unusual the charge has lived and has always been regarded as a model one. These few facts explain Strahan's next entry :

July 1749. Fielding's Charge to the Grand Jury 4½ sheets, no. 750,
@ 16/- £3 : 12 : 0
Extraordinary corrections in Ditto 7 : 6

Meanwhile *Tom Jones* increasing in fame and demand, Strahan's presses had once again to meet the public requirements :

Sept^r. 1749. Foundling 4th ed. 55 sheets, no. 3500, @ £2 : 11 : 0
per sheet £140 : 5 : 0

The fourth edition, bearing date 1750, was published 12 December 1749 (*St. James's Evening Post*). Thus in less than one year ten thousand copies of Fielding's great novel were distributed.

In the same month Strahan printed a second legal tract from Fielding's pen :

Fielding's account of Penlez 3½ sheets, no. 1000, @ 18/- per sheet £3 : 3 : 0

The full title of this shilling pamphlet was 'A True State of the Case of Bosavern Penlez who suffered on account of the late Riot in the Strand in which the Law regarding these Offences, and the Statute of George the First, commonly called the Riot Act, are fully considered.' During the first three days of July a serious riot, accompanied by the complete destruction by fire of three houses, had taken place, and Penlez, a very young man, who was discovered with goods upon his person stolen from one of the houses in question, had been executed in due course of law. A public outcry, especially denouncing George II for signing the death warrant, then followed. Those who have studied the litera-

ture for and against the extremity of the law being resorted to, must admit that Penlez's case was a hard one, having regard to the fact that all the ringleaders and prime offenders were unapprehended. The Government's action had, however, to be defended, and Fielding, who had taken the depositions and committed Penlez for trial, entered the field. That Penlez's conviction was inevitable is pretty clear from the evidence, but Fielding thought the punishment justified also. When there existed no organized police force to check inchoate crimes, sentences for completed crimes aimed at being deterrent as well as punitive, and Fielding, answerable for the good order of that part of the metropolis, could scarcely be expected to take a lenient view of the case. Fielding's exposition of the Law of Riot is still worth reading, and that the tract circulated widely is to be gathered from Strahan's next entry :

November 1749. Fielding's Account of Penlez 2nd ed., no. 1000

deducting for $3\frac{1}{2}$ sheets standing

£2 : 11 : 0

This edition appears to have been published on 18 November (*St. James's Evening Post*).

Fielding, the only metropolitan magistrate with a legal training, was now sufficiently experienced in his arduous office to be able to form definite opinions respecting the criminal classes. Having come to the conclusion that the criminal code too often failed in its objects, and its machinery was so cumbrous as not only to deter prosecutors from seeking their just remedies, but often to serve to assist rather than check thieves and scoundrels, he set down his views (which he dedicated to Lord Hardwicke) for the consideration of the public. Consequently early in the following year Strahan had a manuscript of some length to set up :

Jan. 1750 (folio 78). Fielding on Robberies 9 sheets, no. 1500 @

£1 : 8 : 0 per sheet

£12 : 12 : 0

Extraordinary corrections in Do. and 5/- to the men

£1 : 12 : 0

No sooner was the type dispersed than it had to be reset :

Feb. 1750. Fielding on Robberies 2nd edition, 10 sheets, no.

2000, @ £1 : 13 : 0 per sheet

£16 : 10 : 0

The full title of this half-crown legal tract was 'An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers with some Proposals for Remedying this growing Evil in which the present reigning Vices are impartially exposed, and the Laws that relate to the Provision for the Poor and to the Punishment of felons are largely and freely examined.' The book, which displayed the master mind of a constitutional lawyer and publicist, received the approval of Parliament, the congratulations of bishops, and the support of the press.

The success of Fielding's legal book in no way checked his popularity as a humorist for *Joseph Andrews* still showed its wonted vitality :

April 1750. Joseph Andrews 20 sheets, no. 2000, at £1 : 16 : 0
per sheet

£36 : 0 : 0

Here was a book of which Millar—who had paid Fielding but £183—disposed in just over eight years 10,500 copies! For nearly two years Strahan received no Fielding manuscript; not that the writer had laid down his pen; far otherwise, he was, to use an expression of Byron's, 'magnoperating'. Towards the close of 1751 came to New Street half the manuscript of Fielding's third great novel.

December 1751 (folio 81). *Amelia* vol. I & III, 26½ sheets, no.

5000 @ £3 per sheet

£79 : 10 : 0

Extraordinary corrections in Ditto

£1 : 5 : 0

The printers of Vols. II and IV are so far unknown. The volumes, which bore date 1752, were issued, at any rate in part, on 18 December.¹ The next entry is enigmatical :

Jan. 1752. *Amelia* 2nd ed. 2 sheets, no. 3000

£4 : 0 : 0

Composing 60 pages more of Do.

£4 : 10 : 0

¹ It cannot be passed without remark that Mr. Straus, in his most instructive *Life of Robert Dodsley, 1910*, states at p. 342 that Fielding's *Amelia* emanated

How came such trifling additions to be styled '2nd edition'?

One more item only in 1752 refers to Fielding:

April. Fielding on Murder 4½ sheets, no. 2000, @ £1 : 12 : 0	£7 : 4 : 0
Corrections and alterations in Do.	£1 : 4 : 0
Printing off 1000 copies more of Fielding on Murder	£1 : 7 : 0

The full title of this pamphlet is 'Examples of the Interposition of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murder'. It was avowedly compiled to strike religious fear into the desperadoes that infested the highways and the nooks and crannies of the metropolis, but Fielding's most ardent admirers must confess it to be a work unworthy of him. He was accustomed to distribute the booklet gratis in his Court.

Fielding, if a terror to criminals, had a very sincere sympathy for those whom force of circumstances and not preference for vice led into evil ways. Convinced that want of organization, and not of public money, was accountable for the futility of pauper relief, he elaborated a well-considered scheme for the utilization of unemployed labour under the title, 'A Proposal for making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, for amending their Morals, and for rendering them useful members of the Society. To which is added A Plan of the Buildings proposed, with proper elevations, drawn by an eminent hand.' The tract is dedicated to Henry Pelham, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its printing is thus ledgered:

Jan. 1753. Fielding on the Poor 6 sheets, no. 2000, @ £1 : 10 : 0	
a sheet	£9 : 0 : 0
Extraordinary corrections in Do.	13 : 0

That Fielding's scheme for erecting an adequately appointed workhouse at Acton never came to fruition was probably due, in part, to its involving the adoption of a standard rate of

from 'Tully's Head'. The *History of Amelia*, published in 1751 by Dodsley, was a dishonest attempt to forestall Fielding; but as Dodsley was a man of high commercial morality the just inference is that he was an innocent agent.

wages which Georgian politicians, imbued with the supply and demand doctrine in all its crudeness, held to be wholly impracticable. Legislation consequent upon the European War shows that State-regulated wages are not wholly chimerical. But apart from its sociological value, the *Proposal* has a deep biographical one, for Fielding, feeling the hand of death upon him, states it to be his final and most strenuous effort to serve his country.

The *Proposal for the Poor* was the last piece from Fielding's pen that Strahan printed in the novelist's lifetime. Unless the present writer has been guilty of an oversight—there are numerous entries in the Strahan-Millar account for other authors—Strahan did not print Fielding's *Case of Elizabeth Canning*, the last publication of his which Fielding lived to see in print.¹

On 1 July 1754 Fielding left England for Portugal, where he died on 8 October. He kept a record of his journey which, after his death, was published for the benefit of his widow and very young children. The printing of *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* constitutes the last two relevant entries in Strahan's account books. They run :

Jan. 1755 (folio 91). Voyage to Lisbon 10 sheets, no. 2500, @

£1 : 15 : 0

£17 : 10 : 0

Extraordinary corrections in Do.

17 : 0

Do. 2nd ed. 12 sheets, no. 2500, @ £1 : 13 : 0

£19 : 16 : 0

July 1756 (folio 100). Fielding's Voyage to Lisbon $\frac{1}{2}$ sheet, no.

500 with paper

16 : 0

The two editions of the *Voyage* have given rise to much discussion, the point in issue being the order of publication of the edited and inedited editions. Although absolute proof is still lacking the position is now pretty clear. The manuscript reaching England, Millar undertook its publica-

¹ A special search in the ledgers kindly made by Mr. R. A. Austen Leigh confirms this statement.

tion on behalf of the relict, and sent it to Strahan. The galley-proofs were corrected by some one, possibly by Arthur Murphy, whom internal evidence suggests as the author of the Preface. The book being ready, a copy of the full-text or '10 sheets' edition was at once sent to John Fielding who, being blind, had it read to him. As the last production of a much loved brother it would have much interest for him, but as a man of the world and as a magistrate he would clearly perceive that certain passages relating to Veal, the master of the ship, were plainly defamatory, and if, as a result of publishing them, Veal's passenger-traffic was ruined, a libel action might ensue. He knew, too, that Isabella Ash, his brother's servant on the voyage, and now in England as Veal's *fiancée*, could, and probably would, give evidence in Veal's interest. John Fielding thereupon determined to suppress the whole edition, and himself made such excisions as would render the *Voyage* innocuous, but in his haste he omitted to alter the preface. He thus formed the text of the edited, or '12 sheets' edition, which was put in hand forthwith. It is curious, of course, that a shortened edition should require a larger quantity of paper; but this, as has before been shown, is due to the larger fount employed. When, a year later, Lisbon was the scene of the most terrible earthquake of modern days, Millar bethought him of 2,500 volumes which from fast becoming dust traps might be converted into the coin of the realm. He accordingly bought the copyright and, knowing any decline in passenger traffic could be laid to seismic causes, promptly threw the '10 sheets' edition on the market. Strahan's last entry of July 1756 is probably some advertisement prelude to the 'new' edition.

It may be remarked that, before his association with Millar, Fielding had business transactions with a variety of printer-booksellers, viz: J. Roberts, in Warwick Lane; A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple Bar; John Watts, Wild Court,

Lincoln's Inn Fields; H. Cook, at the Golden Ball, near Chancery Lane; J. Graham, under the Inner Temple Gate; C. Corbet, at Addison's Head, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street; E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; H. Chapelle, in Grosvenor Street; J. Huggonson, in Sword and Buckler Court, over against the Crown Tavern on Ludgate Hill; T. Waller, in the Temple Cloisters; W. Reeve, at Shakespear's Head, Serjeant's Inn Gate, Fleet Street; and George Woodfall, near Craig's Court, Charing Cross.

NOTE.—Since the above was written I have discovered a copy of 'The Female Husband'. It consists of 23 pages, and is the report of a case heard at Wells Quarter Sessions. It is a vividly written account of a young Manx girl who visited Bristol, where she unfortunately became too closely associated with female Methodists of a low type. She then travelled through Devon and Somerset in male attire as a doctor. While in Devon she married two women consecutively and then decamped. Thinking herself out of the beaten track in Wells she there married a young girl of great beauty, but was shortly after identified as a 'wanted' person. 'She was committed to Bridewell, and 'Mr. Gold, an eminent and learned counsellor at law who lives in these parts, 'was consulted with upon the occasion, who gave his advice that she should 'be prosecuted on a clause in the Vagrant Act.' Now Henry Gold (1710-94) was Fielding's first cousin, and both were members of the Western Circuit. Gold's home was at Sharpham Park, the house in which Fielding was born. The graphic description of the examination of Mary Price, 'the wife', by Gold, leaves the impression that Fielding was himself in court seated among counsel.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council are glad to be able to report to members that the past year has been a prosperous one, and that the measures taken during it to meet the great increase in the cost of producing the Society's books seem likely to be successful.

Twenty-six new British members have been elected during the year, attendances at our meetings have been good, and the papers read at them have fully maintained the level of past years. The sale of our publications to members has yielded £135, much the highest amount ever received from this source in one year and considerably more than the total for the six years (1907-12) before our books were cased. Helped by this and by a generous donation from Mr. Wise towards the cost of the *Bibliography of Landor*, we have been able to pay during the year £1,127 for printing, paper, casing, and distribution, and began 1921 with £161 in hand towards the cost of Vol. XV of *Transactions* and Part 3 of *The Library*—which remain to be paid for. But much more than this is needed if we are to keep pace with the work which is waiting to be done and printed: the raising of the Annual Subscription sanctioned by the Special General Meeting of the Society in October last was thus amply justified.

Up to 14 February only six members had sent in their resignation since notice was given of the new terms of subscription, a number hardly in excess of the normal annual loss from ordinary causes. On the other hand rather an unexpectedly large number of members, especially of those paying by bankers' orders, have not increased their subscription, and will thus only receive *The Library* and such *Supple-*

ments to the Transactions as may appear. It is believed that this is mainly due to inadvertence and that most of these members will complete their subscriptions, as some have done already, by sending a second guinea. It is only by the great majority of members paying the full subscription that the Society can be successfully carried on.

On 1 January 1921 the Society (deducting those whose resignations have since been notified to the Council) consisted of 450 paying members (British 302, American 128, Foreign 20) and 5 honorary members. It is open to the Annual Meeting, if it so please, to declare the Roll closed at these or any smaller numbers, but there will be some risk of not being able to maintain the number fixed, should times become harder, and the advantages of a closed Roll are not so obvious as they were when it was first adopted. The Council, therefore, recommend that, for the present at any rate, it remain open.

The change from a biennial volume of *Transactions*, supplemented by a News Sheet, to a quarterly publication, involved considerable difficulties, but most of these have now been surmounted. The new *Transactions* blend the form of the original series with that of *The Library*, the goodwill of which was presented to the Society by Sir John MacAlister, and their net cost is diminished by a steady income from advertisements and a larger sale outside the Society than was anticipated. One paper has been printed in full within three weeks of its being read before the Society, and it is hoped that in future six months will be the maximum interval between the reading of a paper and publication; room has been found for some interesting miscellaneous articles, and reviews by acknowledged specialists have been an important feature. To meet one new need caused by dropping the *News Sheet* a special notice of each meeting will be sent to any member, desirous of attending regularly, who finds the notice-card

issued at the beginning of each session an insufficient reminder, and will write to Mr. Pollard and ask for it.

Volume XV of the *Transactions* is now being cased, and the first of the *Supplements* to the New Series, Dr. M. R. James's monograph on the manuscripts owned by Dr. Dee, is being printed off. A case for binding Volume I of *The Library* will be sent free of charge to all members of the Society whose subscription has been paid, with the June number; members who *before this date* send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2s. 5d. to the Controller, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back post free.

For 1921 it is hoped to issue to members paying one guinea Vol. II of *The Library* and a second Supplement to the *Transactions*, on Pepys's Spanish Books by Mr. Stephen Gaselee, and to those paying the full subscription, in addition to these, Mr. H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of English Printers and Publishers* (1668-1725) and all that can be put together of Sir William Osler's illustrated monograph on the earlier medical *incunabula*.

The Council have elected as Honorary Members of the Society Mr. R. E. Graves, in gratitude for his long services as our Hon. Treasurer, and Sir John Y. W. MacAlister in recognition of the very important part he took in founding the Society, of the services he rendered to Bibliography by founding *The Library* and carrying it on for thirty years, and of his kindness in presenting the goodwill of it to the Society.

The only death of a member reported during the year was that of Mr. Wynne Baxter, an enthusiast for the bibliography of Milton, to which he made valuable contributions, including a paper read before the Society in December 1901. Although it took place early in 1921 the Council cannot help commemorating also the loss which the Society has suffered by the death of Mr. F. W. Bourdillon, who brought to bibliography a scholarship and humanity which greatly

enriched his work and endeared him to all who had the privilege of his friendship. His work on *The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose* was a very notable addition to our illustrated monographs, and his recent paper on *Two French Romances* raised hopes of more contributions from him which are now sadly laid aside.

NOTICES

The Annual Meeting of the Bibliographical Society for the election of officers and members of Council and the reception of the Council's Report will be held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, March 21, at the conclusion of the ordinary monthly meeting. The officers of the Society offer themselves for re-election: the following will be proposed as members of Council: Dr. E. Marion Cox, Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, W. W. Greg, C. W. Dyson Perrins, Sir D'Arcy Power, A. W. Reed, Frank Sidgwick, Henry Thomas, Charles Welch.

At the Monthly Meeting on Monday, March 21, at 5 p.m., Sir D'Arcy Power will read a paper on *Some Early English Books on Hospitals*.

Annual Report of the Council

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BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1920.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance (1 Jan. 1920) +			Printing, Paper, Casing, and		
£100 on Deposit . . .	530	15 1	Distribution . . .	1,127	12 5
British Entrance Fees . . .	27	6 0	Rent . . .	23	2 0
British Subs., 1918-19 . . .	9	9 0	Expenses of Meetings . . .	11	16 2
" 1920 . . .	281	8 0	Income Tax . . .	0	18 0
" 1921 . . .	6	6 0	Bank Charges . . .	0	2 6
British Life Members (3) . . .	37	16 0	Hon. Treasurer (for Petty		
Interest on Deposit and In-			Cash) . . .	5	10 0
vestments . . .	15	18 4	Secretarial Expenses . . .	3	18 6
Sale of Publications . . .	135	0 0	U.S.A. Hon. Treasurer's Ex-		
U.S.A. Entrance Fees and			penses (= Subscription) . . .	1	1 0
Subscriptions, 1920 . . .	158	9 4	Insurance . . .	1	19 3
U.S.A. Subscription, 1921 . . .	2	2 0	Cheques returned . . .	2	2 0
U. S. A. Hon. Treasurer's			Typing . . .	0	12 0
Subscription (= Expenses)	1	1 0	Subscription (paid in error)		
Foreign Members' Subscrip-			returned . . .	1	1 0
tions, 1914-1919 . . .	20	7 5	Expenses for Society's Li-		
Foreign Members' Subscrip-			brary . . .	4	6 3
tions, 1920 . . .	9	5 6	Research Work . . .	10	10 0
Contribution from Mr. T. J.			Balance at Bank (31 Dec.		
Wise towards expenses of			1920) + £100 on Deposit . . .	161	0 1
Printing . . .	116	14 0			
Cheques recredited . . .	2	2 0			
Cheque uncleared . . .	1	11 6			
	£1,355	11 2		£1,355	11 2

R. FARQUHARSON SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

JAMES P. R. LYELL.

15 January 1921.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
£300 2½% Consols Bonds @			Estimated liability for 29		
£45 . . .	135	0 0	Life Members . . .	304	10 0
£100 3½% New South Wales			Subscriptions received in ad-		
Bond . . .	87	0 0	vance . . .	6	6 0
£100 5% Exchequer Bond . . .	98	10 0	Estimated cost of completing		
Estimated value of Stock of			and sending out books for		
Publications . . .	800	0 0	the year . . .	300	0 0
Balance of Account for 1920	161	0 1			

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